

ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

PRINCETON ORIENTAL TEXTS

VOLUME I: USĀMAH'S MEMOIRS ENTITLED
KITAB AL-I'TIBĀR, BY USĀMAH IBN-MUNQIDH.

Arabic text edited from the unique manuscript in the Escorial Library, Spain, BY PHILIP K. HITTI, Professor of Semitic Literature in Princeton University.

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A translation from the Arabic with linguistic, geographic, and historic notes of the Eighth Book of Al-Hamdānī's al-Iklīl, BY NABIH AMIN FARIS, Research Associate in Oriental Languages, Princeton University.

VOLUME IV: ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC
MYSTICISM.

A translation from the Arabic, with an introduction and notes, based upon a critical edition of Abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī's treatise entitled Qawānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq, BY EDWARD JABRA JURJI, Formerly of The Institute For Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.

ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

A TRANSLATION, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,
BASED UPON A CRITICAL EDITION OF ABU-AL-MAWĀHIB
AL-SHĀDHILĪ'S TREATISE ENTITLED
QAWĀNĪN ḤIKAM AL-ISHRĀQ

BY
EDWARD JABRA JURJI

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PREFACE

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance I have received in the course of this work. To Professor Philip K. Hitti I owe a primary debt for first directing my attention to Sufism and for many helpful suggestions. Professor Henry S. Gehman of the Princeton Theological Seminary, Professor Edwin E. Calverly of the Hartford Seminary Foundation and Professor Byron Smith of the American University at Beirut have contributed much constructive criticism, particularly in regard to the form of this study.

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E. J. J.

Princeton, August, 1938.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aghāni	Abu-al-Faraj al-Iṣbahāni, <i>Kitāb al-Aghāni</i> , 20 pts. in 5 vols., Cairo, A. H. 1285.
Asin D	Miguél Asín, <i>Islam and the Divine Comedy</i> , tr. Harold Sunderland, London, 1926.
BGL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> , vol. I, Weimar, 1898, vol. II, Berlin, 1902.
CAM	A Descriptive Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic MSS in Princeton University Library (in press).
Carra de Vaux	Carra De Vaux, "La Philosophie Illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Meqtoul," in <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , ser. ix, tome xix, Paris, 1902, pp. 63-94.
D	Abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili, <i>Kitāb Qarwānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq</i> , Damascus, A. H. 1309.
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islām.
Fāriḍ D	'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Fāriḍ, <i>Diwān</i> , ed. Amin Khūri, Beirut, 1894.
Fāriḍ T	'Umar ibn-'Ali ibn-al-Fāriḍ, <i>al-Tā'iyah al-Kubra</i> , ed. and tr. Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, Vienna, 1854.
al-Ghazzālī Ihyā'	Abu-Hāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, <i>Kitāb Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn</i> , 4 vols., Cairo, A. H. 1334.
Hājji Khalfah	Hājji Khalfah, <i>Kashf al-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub w-al-Funūn</i> , ed. and tr. Gustavus Fluegel, London and Leipzig, 1835-58.
Haneberg	Haneberg, "Ali Abul-hasan Schadelī," in ZDMG, vol. vii, 1853, pp. 13-27.
Hitti	Philip K. Hitti, <i>History of the Arabs</i> , London, 1937.
al-Hujwiri	'Ali ibn-'Uthmān al-Jullābi al-Hujwiri, <i>Kashf al-Maḥjūb</i> , tr. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911, in "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series."
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jilāni F	'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jilāni, <i>Kitāb Futūḥ al-Ghayb</i> (on the margin of al-Shaṭṭanawfi's <i>Bahjat al-Asrār</i> , Cairo, 1887.
Jilāni I	'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Jilāni, <i>al-Insān al-Kāmil</i> , 2 parts, Cairo, A. H. 1328.
al-Kalābādhi	Abu-Bakr al-Kalābādhi, <i>Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf</i> , in CAM, no. 2117.
Kremer	Alfred von Kremer, <i>Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams</i> , Leipzig, 1868.
Mass H	Louis Massignon, <i>al-Hallaj Martyr Mystique de l'Islam</i> , 2 tomes, Paris, 1922.
Mass L T	Louis Massignon, <i>Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane</i> , Paris, 1922.

Mass R	Louis Massignon, <i>Recueil de Textes Inédites de la Mystique en Pays d'Islam</i> , Paris, 1929.
Mass T	Louis Massignon, <i>Kitāb al-Ṭawāsin</i> , Paris, 1913.
al-Mutanabbi	Abu-al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbi, <i>Diwān</i> , pue. Salīm Ibrāhīm Ṣādir, Beirut, 1900.
Mathnawi	<i>The Mathnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī</i> , ed. Reynold A. Nicholson, London, 1937, in "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series."
Ni P	Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, <i>Studies in Islamic Poetry</i> , Cambridge, 1921.
Ni S	Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, <i>Studies in Islamic Mysticism</i> , Cambridge, 1921.
al-Qushayri	'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin al-Qushayri, <i>al-Risālah al-Qushayriyah</i> , Cairo, A. H. 1284.
Sha'rāni	'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rāni, <i>Lawāqih al-Anwār</i> , better known as <i>al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra</i> , pt. 2, Cairo, 1925.
al-Sarrāj	Al-Sarrāj al-Tūṣi, <i>Kitāb al-Luma' fi 'l-Taṣawwuf</i> , ed. R. A. Nicholson, London, 1914, in "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series."
al-Shaṭṭanawfi	Nūr-al-Dīn al-Shaṭṭanawfi, <i>Kitāb Bahjat al-Asrār</i> , Cairo, 1887.
Smith S	Margaret Smith, <i>Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East</i> , London, 1931.
Tahāfut	Al-Ghazzālī, <i>Tahāfut al-Falāsifah</i> , ed. Maurice Bouyges, Beirut, 1927.
al-Yāfi'i	'Afif-al-Dīn al-Yāfi'i, <i>Kitāb Mir'āt al-Janān</i> , Cairo, A. H. 1339.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .

INTRODUCTION

The present study is based primarily upon a MS in the Garrett Collection deposited in the Princeton University Library, entitled *Qawānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq* (*Articles of the Maxims of Illumination*) and composed by abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili (d. 1477/8). The definitive Arabic text is the result of collating with the Princeton copy five of the other extant MSS, referred to below, as well as the printed Syrian edition made in 1891-2.

Our treatise deserves notice as a significant Sufi work. It derives especial importance from the fact that it is one of the few compositions in that field of Islamic illuministic philosophy called *Ishrāq* whose outstanding champions were Muḥyi-al-Dīn ibn-ʿArabi and abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi. Its value is further enhanced by the consideration of the unique place it enjoys as a production of the prominent North African Sufi order, the Shādhiliyah, founded by abu-al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, the spiritual progenitor of our author.

Sufi Origins

To determine the beginnings of Sufism in Islam is a difficult task. Like many other movements in human history the way rather than the doctrine is the basic element. That Sufism is a way rather than a set of disciplines and doctrines has now been established.¹ Yet this is a system which represents what has often been described as a rebellion against the intellectualism of Islam and the formalism which grew from the Koranic emphasis on the all-powerfulness of Allah and man's subjection to Fate. The fact that the early Sufis sought support for their views in the Koran² can hardly annul the concept that theirs was a psychological behaviour engendered as a direct response to the deep human aspiration for a personal approach to the deity and a spiritual contact with religious truth.

¹ Consult D. B. Macdonald, "The Unity of the Mystical Experience in Islam and Christendom," in *The Moslem World*, vol. xxv, no. 4, 1935, pp. 325-335.

² Such passages as Koran 4: 96, 9: 113, 33: 47 must have served them in good stead; when Sufism was passing through a crisis and, especially after the execution of al-Ḥallāj in 922, was in danger of being outlawed, the deeply concerned Sufis sought to make their system conformable to the strictest standards of orthodoxy. See Arthur John Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, [being a translation of Kalābādhi's *Kitāb al-Ta'arruf*], Cambridge, 1935, pp. xiv, xv.

While one must admit that the Sufi way is common to many folk who appeared on the stage of history before and after the Islamic peoples, there are, however, some distinctive features which mark out Islam's own experience with this profoundly spiritual process. In tracing the first development of Sufism among Moslems one is struck by the strictly Islamic character of this otherwise syncretic and deeply human phenomenon.⁸ Nöldeke's argument for the derivation of the form Sufi from Arabic *ṣūf*⁴ has established the case against all other contentions. In Arabic writings the form first appears in the middle of the ninth century applied to a certain class of ascetics.⁵ But Moslem ascetics must have lived before that date.⁶

The study of *Ishrāq* (Illumination) to which we shall turn subsequently will illustrate adequately how Sufism beginning in the second Islamic century became a syncretic movement. Christianity contributed the wearing of wool⁷ and the ideal of celibacy. Sufi vigils and nocturnal meditations betray Syrian monasticism. The Christian pattern of clergy and beginner can be detected in the *shaykh-murīd* relationship. Church litanies became a model for Islam's only elaborate ritual,⁸ *al-dhikr*⁹ (remembrance). The *ṭarīqah*¹⁰ corresponds to the fraternity or order. Judaism and Christianity must have provided these orders with fresh recruits as suggested by the eschatological traditions of the Sufis, especially that of the antichrist.¹¹

Aside from these external elements, Greek influence is noticeable in the Sufi doctrine which insists that the true knowledge of God is attained by ecstasy (*wajd*). Hellenistic forces during the period of translation from Greek gave rise to Sufi theosophy whose exponent was Dhu-al-Nūn al-Miṣrī.¹² Contacts with Indo-Iranian culture made

⁸ See R. A. Nicholson, art. "Mysticism," in *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, Oxford, 1931, p. 211.

⁴ In ZDMG, vol. 48, p. 18.

⁵ Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān w-al-Tabyīn*, ed. Hasan al-Sindubi, Cairo, 1926-27, 3 vols., vol. i, p. 233; later tradition makes Jābir ibn-Ḥayyān (fl. ca. 776) the first Sufi.

⁶ For example, Ibrāhīm ibn-Adham of Balkh (ca. 777) who is the earliest representative of ascetism (*zuhd*).

⁷ Worn by Christian monks.

⁸ Hitti, p. 433.

⁹ See Koran 33: 41.

¹⁰ From *ṭarīq*, way, path, Koran 46: 29 seq.

¹¹ From Aramaic *meshiḥa daggala*, cf. Mt. 24: 24; Rev. 13: 1-18; Dan. 11: 36.

¹² Died in 860 at al-Gīzah, Egypt. His real name was Thawbān abu-al-Fayḍ ibn-Ibrāhīm; see al-Qushayri, p. 10; al-Hujwiri, p. 100. See Nicholson, in *Legacy of Islam*, p. 215; Hitti, p. 435.

this theosophy pantheistic. The Buddhistic view of life is in certain places unmistakably apparent.¹³ The *zindīq* monks described by al-Jāhīz¹⁴ were either Indian Sadhus or Buddhist monks, if not their imitators.¹⁵

Fraternities

‘Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlāni (1077-1166), a Persian who flourished in Baghdad, established the first Sufi fraternity.¹⁶ Preceding him were five Islamic centuries of Sufism which had expressed itself either individually or by temporary groups,¹⁷ maintained by such zealots as Junayd or al-Ḥallāj. Thereupon other fraternities began to appear. The Rifā’ite¹⁸ fraternity endowed its members with the power to perform extraordinary feats. Jalāl-al-Dīn al-Rūmī¹⁹ started the Mawlawite fraternity whose members are better known as the Whirling Dervishes; the titular head of this organization enjoyed the privilege of girding the new sultan-caliph with a sword.²⁰

Regardless of the manifold disagreements among the many fraternities of Sufism, they are all one in that they owe allegiance to the same fundamentals of Sufi teaching. These consisted of accepting God as the One Reality. Man is His manifestation. Man’s higher nature is a direct emanation from the Divine. The human mind is a bit of the Universal Reason. Human love is a Divine Gift, the Smaller Gift from the Greater. Man’s knowledge of God is an illumination from above.²¹ We shall see in the course of this inquiry that these cardinal ideas of Sufism are precisely what went into the making of

¹³ Aghāni, pt. iii, p. 24, ll. 27-8.

¹⁴ *Al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1905, vol. iv, pp. 146-7.

¹⁵ Ignaz Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ed. Franz Babinger, Heidelberg, 1925, pp. 160-62.

¹⁶ Consult al-Dhahabi, *Ta’rikh al-Islām*, published by D. S. Margoliouth in JRAS, 1907, pp. 267-310. Al-Shaṭṭanawfi’s margin bears seventy-eight sermons ascribed to al-Jīlāni and entitled *Futūḥ al-Ghayb*. Cf. Massignon, art. “Ṭarīqa,” in EI.

¹⁷ Hitti, p. 436.

¹⁸ Founded by Aḥmad al-Rifā’i (d. 1175).

¹⁹ Died at Qūniyah in 1273. He was not only a great Persian poet but also the founder of a line of hereditary chiefs who preside over the affairs of this order.

²⁰ Hitti, p. 437.

²¹ Cf. C. C. Torrey, “Mysticism in Islam,” in *At One with the Invisible*, ed. E. H. Sneath, New York, 1921, p. 164.

al-Shādhiliyah as a fraternity and of al-Ishrāqīyah as a school of Sufi thought. We shall also prove implicitly that therein lie some of the noblest ideals in Islam: a phase of Sufism hitherto underemphasized, and a field for research of the utmost philosophical significance. One may thus encounter Oriental ideas, mingled with Greek thought, among the Arabs who transformed them and passed them on to Europe through medieval Spain.

The Illuministic School

Not only is Illumination (*al-Ishrāq*) the title of our MS, but the spirit of the Illuministic school of thought permeates the whole work. The form *ishrāq* is frequently employed in the text.²² *Tawhīd* (unification, unity) is a fundamental idea which the author drew from his illuministic forerunners.

An analysis of the tenets of illuministic teachers led the Spanish Arabist Asín to the conclusion that a close connection exists between Dante and Sufism.²³ "The poet's philosophical system might be traced back to its actual sources in Islam." What kind of sources? Not so much those of Moslem philosophers as the works of the *Ishrāqī* mystics, and of the Murcian ibn-'Arabi in particular.²⁴ Mysticism in medieval times became the common ground where Christianity and Islam touched each other. Mystics, Christian and Moslem,—thanks to this unifying element—bore the stamp of one and the same spiritual genius. In this great cultural atmosphere lived men like Thomas Aquinas, Eckhart, and Dante, and it would have been strange if that great Sufi temper of their day had not influenced them.²⁵ But the illuminative life can in no way be said to have originated in Islam. Syria in pre-Islamic days saw the rise of that three-staged mystical experience—Purgation—Illumination—Perfection. In the sixth century Dionysius, a Syrian monk, developed a mystical theosophy based on Hellenistic sources in the main.²⁶ Of the illuminative life he says:

²² See for example fol. 25b, l. 15; fol. 33b, l. 4; fol. 36b, l. 15; fol. 38a, l. 3; fol. 46b, l. 14.

²³ Asín D, pp. 263 *sqq.*

²⁴ Asín D, p. 264; as for the larger problem of how much the West actually learned during the Middle Ages, when Moslem philosophy and science radiating from Spain spread light through Christian Europe, we have yet to discover the details, though the amount must have been considerable; Nicholson, in *Legacy of Islam*, p. 210.

²⁵ Nicholson, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 *seq.*

²⁶ Smith S, p. 79.

"Every procession of illuminating light, proceeding from the Father, whilst visiting us as a gift of goodness, restores us again gradually as a unifying power and turns us to the oneness of our conducting Father and to a deifying simplicity."²⁷ Christian mystics leading the life of solitaires became conspicuous at this time. Isaac of Nineveh is one of these.²⁸ Having held the office of bishop for only five months, he renounced everything and withdrew to a meditative life in the mountains, where he made a study of mysticism, concerning himself fundamentally with Purgation and Illumination.²⁹

The first mystics of Islam were interested only in the first of these three stages—Purgation. To them *al-ṭarīq* (Path) was a method of self-purification acquired through the cleansing of the senses and bodily discipline. Gradually they began to develop the second stage—Illumination. Al-Muḥāsibī,³⁰ who pioneered with his disciples in the pathway of Purgation, was one of the first to declare that as purification brings freedom from the attachments of this world one might expect to attain to the stage of Illumination and thence proceed to the unitive life in God. Ibn-Masarraḥ³¹ of Cordova (A. D. 883-931) founded the Illuministic or *Ishrāqī* and pseudo-Empedoclean school.³² From al-Andalus (Spain) the ideas of this school were transmitted to the so-called Augustinian scholastics, such as Alexander Hales, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull.³³ An essential element of *Ishrāqī* teaching—the metaphysical doctrine of light with which we shall be concerned later—reappears in the Divine Comedy³⁴

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

²⁸ He lived in the seventh century.

²⁹ Smith S, p. 97.

³⁰ Abu-'Abdullah Ḥārith ibn-Asad al-Muḥāsibī (A. D. 781-857) was born at al-Baṣrah and taught in Baghdad. See Margaret Smith, *An Early Mystic of Baghdad*, London, 1936. Massignon describes him as "the true master of primitive Islamic mysticism."

³¹ Asin D, p. 264, while outside of the Iberian Peninsula no great exponent of *al-Ishrāq* is recognized before him, it might be more accurate to attribute to ibn-Masarraḥ the honour of having been the founder, only in Spain, of this new philosophy. See also Asin, art. "Ibn Masarra," in EI, *Supplement*, pp. 92 seq.

³² Smith S, p. 191.

³³ Asin D, p. 264.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165, discussion of "Paradise"; the heavenly sign is illustrated by the same symbols as are used by the Moslem mystics. Creation too, in keeping with the Sufi ideas, is conceived of in the Comedy as an emanation of Divine light, the teleological cause of which is love; consult Asin, *Abenmasarra y su escuela*, Madrid, 1914, pp. 120, 121.

which reproduces a century after ibn-ʿArabi most of the pictures he used of the realms beyond the grave. Seen in this light Dante would pose as one of the ardent adherents of the *Ishrāqī* school.

As the chief precursor of ibn-ʿArabi, ibn-Masarraḥ deserves especial notice. A mystic and a philosopher, he died in Cordova after some journeys to the Orient. His significant role has been masterfully defined by Asín. In a book entitled *Tawḥīd al-Mūqinīn* (Unification of the Faithful) he defines the unity and the infinity of divine attributes.³⁵ Like al-Rāzī³⁶ and others ibn-Masarraḥ held the conception that prophecy is a philosophic sanctification, a purifying illumination which is the result of an ascetic rapture. With al-Fārābī,³⁷ ibn-Sīna³⁸ (Avicenna) and Maimonides³⁹ he shared the doctrine of philosophic emanations which was Hellenistic in origin. These philosophers in opposition to *al-mutakallimūn* (the scholastic theologians of Islam) admitted the existence of immaterial substances. They divided 'changes' into four possible categories:⁴⁰

1. Generation and corruption.
2. Transformation (*istiḥālah*).
3. Growth and destruction.
4. Local movement (*nuqlah*).

Into two of these categories they introduced the idea of the transforming mystic union. Thus category no. 1 became *kawn wa-fasād*—the phenomenal world—, exemplified in the union between spirit and body, that is, *ḥulūl al-rūḥ*. Category no. 3 (*numūw wa-idmihlāl*) came to mean the accidental cause that actuates a being in any one of his faculties, exemplified in the union between Active Intellect and the Passive Intellect.⁴¹

³⁵ Mass R, pp. 70-71; see also Mass H, t. ii, p. 604.

³⁶ Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī (A. D. 1149-1209), a theologian and philosopher, must not be confused with the earlier physician abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Zakariyā' al-Rāzī (d. 923 or 932).

³⁷ Abu-Naṣr Muḥammad al-Fārābī, a Turk born in Transoxiana; he died in 950 at Damascus.

³⁸ Abu-ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn-Sīna (980-1037).

³⁹ Abu-ʿImrān Mūsa ibn-Maymūn, better known as Maimonides (d. 1204).

⁴⁰ A discussion of "change" and "motion" in Aristotle and Arab as well as Jewish philosophers is found in H. A. Wolfson, *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 498-503.

⁴¹ *Ḥulūl al-aql al-fā'il fī al-aql al-munfa'il*; consult Mass H, pp. 529, 530.

Such ideas shaped the philosophy of that school whose adherents came to be known as *al-ḥukamā' al-ishrāqīyūn*—the Illuministic doctors. Their system was consummately referred to as *ḥikmat al-ishrāq*—Wisdom of Illumination, abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi and his disciples being largely associated with it.⁴² They were undoubtedly steeped in the syncretic philosophy of Hellenism which reached the hither Orient in the form of Neo-Platonic, Hermetic⁴³ and allied systems, and was there blended with old Persian and other speculations. In the main the doctrine of *al-Ishrāq* is based on a spiritualistic philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge. God and the world of spirits were usually interpreted as light, and our process of cognition as illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres.⁴⁴ This philosophy of revelation, which colours our MS, has influenced Moslem thought immeasurably;⁴⁵ the course it took in Moslem Spain left a lasting mark on Christian Europe.⁴⁶ We shall trace its development through the life of one leading exponent in Spain before we study the character of the movement in the person of a great leader in the East.

Ibn-'Arabi

Ibn-'Arabi, who may have inspired directly or indirectly the “*dolce stil nuovo*” of the *Convito*,⁴⁷ was born at Murcia A. D. 1165 and flourished mainly in Seville until 1201-1202 when he made the pilgrimage and spent the rest of his life in the East, where he died in Damascus, 1240.⁴⁸ As a Hispano-Moslem poet and theologian, a

⁴² See art. “*al-Ishrāqīyūn*,” in EI, corrected by its author, T. de Boer, in EI, *Supplement*, p. 98.

⁴³ Consult T. de Boer, art. “*Urāni*,” in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxvii, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 8-15.

⁴⁴ Hermes, Agathodaemon, Empedocles, Pythagoras and Plato were prominent authorities often described as prophets or inspired sages.

⁴⁵ Asin, *Abenmasarra*, p. 126.

⁴⁶ In Spain a fellow Murcian of ibn-'Arabi was abu-Muḥammad 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq ibn-Sab'in (ca. 1217-69) whose preëminence in Sufi circles won him the title *Quṭb-al-Dīn* (Pole of the Faith); his work, *Asrār al-Ḥikmah al-Mashriqīyah* (Mysteries of Illuministic Philosophy), which is still unpublished, is a decided contribution in the general *Ishrāqī* field.

⁴⁷ George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. ii, pt. 2, Baltimore, 1931, p. 500.

⁴⁸ His full name is abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-'Alī Muḥyi-al-Dīn al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'i al-Andalusi ibn-'Arabi; consult ibn-al-Jawzi, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, ed. James R. Jewett, Chicago, 1907, p. 487; al-Sha'rānī, *al-Yawāqit w-al-Jawāhir*, Cairo, 1905, p. 8.

Zāhirite and a follower of ibn-Ḥazm,⁴⁹ a foremost Sufi and the greatest representative of the Illuministic school founded in Spain by ibn-Masarrāh,⁵⁰ he came to be styled *al-Shaykh al-Akbar*.⁵¹ Although he professed orthodox Islam, ibn-'Arabi's sole guide was the inner light with which he believed himself illumined. His credo included: 1) that all Being is essentially one, since it is a manifestation of the divine substance; 2) that the different religions were thus equivalent. He believed that he had seen the beatified Muḥammad, that he knew the greatest name of Allah and that he had acquired a knowledge of alchemy, not by his own labour, but by revelation. He was denounced as a *zindīq* and in Egypt an attempt was made to assassinate him.⁵²

Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah (Revelations of Makkah), his principal work, in 560 chapters, gives a complete system of mystic knowledge.⁵³ Chapter 167 entitled *Kīmīyā' al-Sa'ādah* (Alchemy of Happiness) is an esoteric allegory of the ascension of man to Heaven, anticipating Dante's Paradise.⁵⁴ In another work, *al-Isrā' ila Maqām al-Asra*⁵⁵ (The Nocturnal Journey towards the Majesty of the Most Magnanimous), he developed the Moslem theme of the Prophet's ascension (*al-mi'rāj*). The hidden moral which he here tried to extricate was based upon an esoteric interpretation of the revelations manifested to the soul of the mystic in the course of its ascension to God.⁵⁶ These are precisely the works of ibn-'Arabi which anticipated the Divine Comedy. *Kitāb Tarjumān al-Ashwāq*⁵⁷ (Interpreter of Love), written in 1214-15, was followed next year by a commentary, *Dhakhā-*

⁴⁹ First half of the eleventh century.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 5.

⁵¹ See Muḥammad Rajab Ḥilmi, *al-Burhān al-Azhar fī Manāqib al-Shaykh al-Akbar*, Cairo, 1326.

⁵² Consult T. H. Weir, art. "Ibn (Al-)'Arabi," in EI.

⁵³ Chapter 559 contains a summary of the whole work. Asked by ibn-'Arabi for a commentary on his *Tā'īyah*, ibn-al-Fāriḍ replied that the *Futūḥāt* was the best commentary; see al-Maqqari, i, p. 570; 2nd ed., 4 vols., Būlāq, 1293.

⁵⁴ Asin D, p. 47.

⁵⁵ This work has not appeared in print as yet. It is extant at the Royal Library, Berlin, nos. 2901/2 and at Vienna, no. 1908; see BGL, vol. i, p. 443, no. 16; a third copy is owned by Asin. See Asin D, p. 45, note 5. A fourth copy is in the Case Memorial Library, Hartford, Conn.

⁵⁶ Cf. Asin D, p. 46.

⁵⁷ Edited, R. A. Nicholson under the title *Tarjumān al-Ashwāq, a Collection of Mystical Odes*, in the "Oriental Translation Fund," New Series, vol. xx, London, 1911.

'ir al-A'lāq⁵⁸ (Treasure of the Jewels), which may have inspired, among other parts, Dante's *Convito* and the meeting of Beatrice and Dante, an unprecedented episode in Christian legends. Considerable autobiographical information is inserted in *al-Futūḥāt* and in *al-Durrah al-Fākhirah*⁵⁹ (The Precious Pearl), also composed in Damascus. Here as elsewhere is depicted ibn-'Arabi's concern with the spiritual decadence of his time; with deep anxiety he contrasts the sanctity of his old masters and friends with the degeneration which his old age was condemned to see in the East.⁶⁰

Our keenest interest, however, centres on the link that joins ibn-'Arabi and his Illuministic message with the Shādhili fraternity which produced our author. It would seem that the founder of the last-named Sufi community, abu-al-Ḥasan al-Shādhili, based his doctrines on a foundation that was introduced into Morocco by the Sevillian teacher of ibn-'Arabi, the so-called abu-Madyan.⁶¹ Such names as 'Abd-al-Salām ibn-Mashīsh,⁶² who was Shādhili's master, as well as abu-al-'Abbās al-Mursi⁶³ and ibn-'Abbād of Ronda,⁶⁴ added to others of the early Shādhili order of Sufism, represent mystic thinkers who became the legitimate heirs of the Illuministic trends of ibn-'Arabi. These and all the austere ascetics of the Shādhiliyah, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, are a veritable Pleiades in the firmament of Islamic mysticism.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Printed, Beirut, A. H. 1312; second only to *al-Futūḥāt* in importance is his *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* (Bezels of wise precepts), Būlāq, 1252, on which some notes are included in Ni S, pp. 149-161.

⁵⁹ This work contains a large number of biographies of the Western scholars and saints who influenced ibn-'Arabi's thought.

⁶⁰ An aggregate of 289 works is ascribed to ibn-'Arabi of which 218 are listed in BGL, *Supplement*, vol. i, Leiden, 1937, pp. 790-802. See Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol. ii, pt. 2, pp. 596-8.

⁶¹ Miguél Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado*, Madrid, 1931, p. 272. His full name is abu-Madyan Shu'ayb ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Maghribi al-Anṣārī al-Andalusi; ca. 598/1193. He enjoyed in the West a high rank among the Sufis, only matched by that of 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlāni, in the East; on him consult Sha'rāni, Cairo, 1925, pt. 1, pp. 133-5; BGL, vol. i, p. 438. See A. Bel, art. "Abu Madyan," in EI; J. J. L. Bargès, *Vie Cidi Abou Médien*, Paris, 1884.

⁶² See account of him in Yūsuf ibn-Ismā'il al-Nabhāni, *Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, Cairo, 1329, vol. ii, pp. 69 seq.

⁶³ Biography in ibn-al-Ṣabbāgh, *Durrat al-Asrār*, Tunis, 1304, pp. 146 seq.

⁶⁴ See Asín's study of him and the Shādhili school in *Andalus*, Madrid, 1933, vol. i, no. 1, pp. 7-79.

⁶⁵ Asín, *El Islam cristianizado*, pp. 272-3.

Our study of *Ishrāq* has enabled us to trace the source of ibn-‘Arabi’s great contributions back to ibn-Masarraḥ,⁶⁶ who with the forerunners of the Illuminative life like al-Muḥāsibī, ibn-Sīna and Maimonides, must have shared in the conception of emanations based on Hellenistic origins. We have just viewed this Illuministic tendency in its progress as it was transplanted into North Africa where, with abu-Madyan and ibn-Mashīsh as pioneers, it finally produced abu-al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, the founder of that great Sufi fraternity which even towards the close of the fifteenth century had scions in Egypt. There it was that our author, abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī, reëchoed, as the present treatise will show, the same essential doctrines which the Illuministics had evolved many centuries before.

But the *Ishrāqī* school of Sufis received powerful support from another figure who vies with ibn-‘Arabi in importance. Between ibn-‘Arabi and the first Sufi teachers of *Ishrāq* stands the name of abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardī—a gallant champion of the cause. Living half a century earlier than ibn-‘Arabi, he represents a unique and singular point of view, though somewhat removed from the main current with which we have hitherto dealt.

Abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardī

Abu-al-Futūḥ Yahyā⁶⁷ al-Suhrawardī was born at Suhraward near Sultānīyah, in the Persian area of Jibāl, about 1154. Having lived and studied at Marāghah, Iṣbahān and Baghdad, he moved on to Aleppo during the reign of al-Ẓāhir⁶⁸ in whose favour he remained till the year 1191, when, incited by the orthodox party, the ruler at the advice of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) sanctioned the execution of al-Suhrawardī.⁶⁹ Thus ended prematurely the life of a stalwart mystic of Islam and an extraordinary exponent of Sufi Illumination.

⁶⁶ On al-Ghazzālī’s indebtedness to him see Margaret Smith, “The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī,” in JRAS, January, 1936, pp. 65-78; ben Gabīrōl (ca. 1021-ca. 1058), the first teacher of Neo-Platonism in the West, who is referred to as the Jewish Plato, must be associated with ibn-Masarraḥ as an advocate of that system of philosophy which was incorrectly identified with Empedocles.

⁶⁷ Or Aḥmad, ibn-Ḥabash ibn-Amīrak Shihāb-al-Dīn.

⁶⁸ A. D. 1186-1216, the son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, and viceroy of Aleppo.

⁶⁹ See Bahā’-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, *Kitāb Sirat Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn*, Cairo, A. H. 1317, p. 302; the popular name *al-Shaykh al-Maqtūl*, the murdered shaykh, is applied to al-Suhrawardī in opposition to *shahīd*, martyr.

His biographers, due to one form of prejudice or another, say of him that "his learning was greater than his wisdom."⁷⁰ They levelled against him the accusation of disbelief and allegiance to Greek philosophy. Hence the doctors of jurisprudence (*al-fuqahā'*) decided that his life be terminated, his bitterest critics having been Zayn-al-Dīn and Majd-al-Dīn, the sons of Juhayl.⁷¹

Abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi revived the interest of the East in both the illuminative life and illuminative mysticism. He initiated the so-called *ḥikmat al-ishrāq* (wisdom of illumination) and his followers gained the sobriquet of *Ishrāqīyūn* (Illuministics). The most characteristic feature of the *ishrāqī* theory is the metaphysics of illumination.⁷² It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation, but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of all things. Arab philosophers, like al-Fārābī, ibn-Sīna⁷³ and al-Ghazzālī, betray this selfsame theory, but al-Suhrawardi makes greater use of the symbol. Necessity and contingency, being and non-being, substance and accident, cause and effect, thought and sensation, body and soul, are all explained by the doctrine of *ishrāq*.⁷⁴ Through the symbol of *ishrāq*, proof is found for living, moving and being—all are light⁷⁵—even the very existence of God is light.⁷⁶

Like ibn-Sīna he was a Peripatetic.⁷⁷ Yet unlike him, al-Suhrawardi accepted all that mystic philosophy which Islam obtained from Hellenistic syncretism—the Neo-Platonic doctrine, Hermetic theories, occult sciences, gnostic traditions, Neo-Pythagorean elements. That

⁷⁰ Ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, Cairo, 1299, p. 257.

⁷¹ Bahā'-al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁷² On the metaphysics of light see Clemens Baeumker, "Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1908, pp. 357 sqq.

⁷³ See his *Rasā'il al-Ḥikmah al-Mashriqīyah*, ed. A. F. Mehren, Leyden, 1889; cf. C. A. Nallino in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. x, 1923-25, pp. 433-467, where evidence is deduced to point out that ibn-Sīna wrote a work on "eastern philosophy" (*ḥikmah mashriqīyah*), not illuminative philosophy.

⁷⁴ H. Corbin and P. Kraus, "Suhrawardi d'Alep," in *Journal Asiatique*, tome ccxxvii, Paris, 1935, pp. 2-4.

⁷⁵ Cf. Max Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Halle, 1912, pp. 48-61.

⁷⁶ Consult Muḥammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London, 1908, pp. 121 sqq.

⁷⁷ In Arabic, the school is called *al-mashshā'ūn*.

all religions express one single truth was strongly upheld by him and his followers, as did ibn-'Arabi who came on the scene in the subsequent century.⁷⁸ Agathodaemon, Hermes,⁷⁹ the five greatest Greek philosophers—(Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle)—Jāmāsp and Buzurjūmhur were the masters in this philosophic movement.⁸⁰

In their study of illumination, which is one of the most interesting in the history of Neo-Platonism, the *Ishrāqīs* used a special nomenclature based on the use of metaphoric terms. "Light-darkness" thus symbolized the highest and the lowest in the realm of the metaphysical, that is, spirit and matter, good and evil.⁸¹ The superior intellects issue from God and are called "lights." God himself is the "Light of lights." The diffusion of this ideal light from its primary source illumines the world of darkness. Plotinus⁸² had already called this diffusion "irradiation" which corresponds to the Arabic word *ishrāq*.⁸³

But few Arab writers made a record of *Ishrāq* doctrines. Among the numerous works of Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzi,⁸⁴ which include a voluminous commentary on the Koran, is a book alleged to be on illumination, *Kitāb al-Mabāhith al-Mashriqīyah*, but which in reality deals with "Eastern" philosophy. None of the scanty writings in this *Ishrāqī* field ever eclipsed the fascinating impression left by al-Suhrawardi. The latter's original character reënforced by his violent disposition rendered him a kind of adventurer in philosophy. Virtually he is the martyr saint of the *Ishrāqī* cult.

Al-Suhrawardi's⁸⁵ chief work, *Kitāb Hikmat al-Ishrāq* (The

⁷⁸ See above, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Kremer, p. 93.

⁸⁰ In Oriental traditions the dualism of Mani was characterised, precisely, by this opposition of light and darkness. On the other hand it must be noted that the philosopher of *ishrāq* often refers to Zoroaster and the Persian sages. We might, therefore, infer that the illuministic Sufis had a philosophy which was Neo-Platonic in origin yet couched in terminology which betrays Persian and more particularly Manichaean taste.

⁸¹ Van den Bergh, art. "al-Suhrawardi," in EI.

⁸² Plotinus was born at Lycopolis in Egypt ca. A. D. 203. In 244 he came to Rome. A Greek philosopher, he was the founder of the Neo-Platonic school in Rome. His fifty-four books, written after 254, were arranged by Porphyry (d. ca. 304) in six *Enneads* (six sets of nine). He died in 270.

⁸³ In this text, however, illumination is the equivalent of *ishrāq*.

⁸⁴ Died 606/1209, see above p. 6.

⁸⁵ Two other figures had the same name. First, Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardi (539/1144-632/1234), descendant of abu-Bakr and companion of the celebrated

Book of Illuministic Wisdom) completed in 1186, was chiefly an attack on Peripatetic philosophy. Manuscript copies of this work are extant in Istanbul, Vienna, London, and Leyden. Of his other books, *Hayākil al-Nūr*⁸⁶ (Temples of Light) is the best known but does not measure up to the former in originality. He also wrote *Kitāb al-Talwihāt* (Elucidations), *al-Mashārī' w-al-Muṭārahāt* (Crosswords and Conversations) and *al-Lamaḥāt fi al-Ḥaqā'iq* (Glimpses of the Truth).⁸⁷

In *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* he declares that his philosophy is the same as that of the ancient sages of Greece, Egypt and Persia, who, he thinks, expressed metaphorically the same doctrine. He advances a mystical theory of the *imām* which leaves little doubt in one's mind as to why he was sentenced to death.⁸⁸ His statements on the science of light represent what he calls "the teaching of God, the Almighty." The same had also been "the sentiment of Plato, the chief of philosophy and possessor of force and light" (*al-ayd*⁸⁹ *w-al-nūr*). Similarly did those believe who foreshadowed Plato, such as Hermes, father of the sages, and other pillars of wisdom like Empedocles and Pythagoras. "The words of the ancients are symbolic."⁹⁰ On the illuminative theory of light and darkness, as a basis, the sages of Persia such as Jāmāsp,⁹¹ Farshawashtar⁹² and Buzurjūmhur⁹³ (or Buzurgmihr), laid their foundations.

ascetic 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jilāni whose chief work is *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* (on the margin of *Iḥyā'*). Second, Ḍiyā'-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (490/1096-563/1167-68), the uncle of the preceding Sufi who also was a celebrated ascetic. He taught at the Nizāmiyah College in Baghdad ca. 545/1150-51. His proposed visit to Jerusalem was impracticable on account of the crusades. Biographical notices of these two Suhrawardis, who were orthodox Sufis, are more abundant than those relating to *al-maqtūl*.

⁸⁶ Uncritical edition, Cairo, 1335.

⁸⁷ Among his Persian works are: *Three Treatises on Mysticism*, ed. and tr. into English by Otto Spies and S. K. Khattak, Stuttgart, 1935, reviewed by Jurji in JAOS, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 516-17; *Mu'nis al-'Ushshāq*, ed. Otto Spies, Stuttgart, 1934, tr. into French by Henry Corbin in *Récherches Philosophiques*, ed. Boivin and Co., Paris, 1932-3, ii, pp. 371-411.

⁸⁸ Kremer, p. 92.

⁸⁹ See below, p. 27 where the form recurs in the derivative *ta'yid* of our MS.

⁹⁰ Carra de Vaux, p. 69.

⁹¹ A companion of Zoroaster.

⁹² Brother of Jāmāsp and father-in-law of Zoroaster according to the *Zend-Avesta*, tr. James Darmesteter, Paris, 1892, vol. i, p. 336.

⁹³ Ideal vizir of Anūshirwān the Great. Many sayings and singular proverbs are ascribed to him. He died at an advanced age during the reign of Hormuz,

Al-Suhrawardi uses a kind of Platonic induction whereby the lowest possible may be used to reach the highest possible, that is, a process that leads from this world to another of which this is only a mere reflection. Plato he often confuses with Plotinus,⁹⁴ for all his doctrine seems to be in common with the latter rather than the former. He criticises the Peripatetics even though he borrows some of their objections to the theory of ideas. At this point he proceeds to elaborate his own theory of illumination which he attempts to associate with the views of the old sages. This is one of the most interesting episodes in the whole process of Arabic philosophical literature.

Al-Suhrawardi taught that the pure governing lights⁹⁵ that are in man prove to us the existence of light. The victorious light⁹⁶ is nobler than the governing light, since it is more removed from dependence on darkness. These lights are outside of the pale of the world of contingencies,⁹⁷ and nothing can separate them from that which is consistent with their perfection. All phases of darkness are shadows of the phases of ideas.⁹⁸ Through ascetic exercises one comes to perceive the world of might⁹⁹ and the royal essences,¹⁰⁰ the lights once witnessed by Hermes and Plato, the clarity of ideas,¹⁰¹ sources of thirst and sight about which Zoroaster spoke. *Al-barsakh*¹⁰² stands for an obscure substance which in *Ishrāq* means the human body¹⁰³ which is a barrier in as much as it stands in the way of light. The dualism of this system, therefore, is not between light and darkness, for darkness is nothing; rather is it between luminous matter and things obscure.

If we must trace *Ishrāq* to Neo-Platonism, we should remember the Oriental character of the latter,¹⁰⁴ which is apparent in the

son of Anūshirwān, in A. D. 580 or 590. See Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 251.

⁹⁴ See above, p. 12.

⁹⁵ *Al-anwār al-mujarradah al-mudabbirah*, that is, the spirits.

⁹⁶ *Al-nūr al-qāhir*, i. e. celestial intelligences.

⁹⁷ *Ālam al-ittifāqāt*.

⁹⁸ *Jamī' al-hay'āt al-ḡulmānīyah ḡilāl li-al-hay'āt al-'āqilah*, see Carra de Vaux, p. 77.

⁹⁹ *Ālam al-jabarūt*.

¹⁰⁰ *Al-dhawāt al-mulūkīyah*.

¹⁰¹ *Al-aḡwā' al-ma'nawīyah*.

¹⁰² Cf. Kremer, p. 95; Koran 23: 102; 55: 20 where it means barrier, transition or interval; ibn-'Arabi is sometimes called *barsakh al-barāzikh*.

¹⁰³ Carra de Vaux, p. 85.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

terminology,¹⁰⁵ in the dualism of light and darkness and in the metaphors drawn from astral worship. The parentage of Illumination is twofold, Greek and Persian: Plotinus¹⁰⁶ and Mani.¹⁰⁷

The Shādhili Fraternity

From a survey of Sufi origins and the rise of orders, we proceeded to the study of Illumination in which we set forth briefly, but concisely, the lives and works of two brilliant champions, ibn-'Arabi and al-Suhrawardi. Many of the principles and doctrines there brought out will recur in the course of the treatise which is translated below. Against this general *Sufi-Ishrāqi* background we shall now begin to project the particular Sufi community to which our fifteenth century author belonged; then having traced his own life, we shall conclude these introductory pages with a notice of the MS here reproduced.

The Shādhili fraternity, founded in the thirteenth century, is the strongest Sufi force in Africa, where Morocco and Tunis, representing the main field of its activities, harbour the various sub-orders that go by special names.¹⁰⁸

The founder, abu-al-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn-'Abdullah ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār al-Sharīf al-Zarwīlī al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), whose title is variously given as Tāj-al-Dīn (Crown of the Faith) and Taqī-al-Dīn (Pious of Faith), was born at al-Shādhilah near Jabal Zafrān in Tunisia.¹⁰⁹ With the contraction of an eye disease, brought about through study, came to him new devotion to the mystic Sufis. In Fās he attended the lectures of Junayd's¹¹⁰ adepts,¹¹¹ who connected

¹⁰⁵ Interesting from this point of view are the following New Testament references to light: John 1:4; 10:10; 11:25; 14:6; Acts 3:15; Romans 6:4; II Corinthians 4:12; Philemon 4:3; etc.

¹⁰⁶ Consult W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, London, 1929, vol. i, pp. 122-199.

¹⁰⁷ Consult A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, New York, 1928, pp. 174-75, 187-93.

¹⁰⁸ Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger, 1897, pp. 443-520.

¹⁰⁹ al-Yāfi'i, vol. iv, p. 146; the name *Shādhilah* has also occurred as *Shādhalah*. See Haneberg, p. 26; the ethnic *al-Zarwīlī*, tacked to his long name, would suggest a Moroccan origin; his disciples attributed a nobler birth to him by tracing his descent back to the Prophet through the line of al-Ḥasan.

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 3.

¹¹¹ Of these Muḥammad ibn-'Ali ibn-Ḥirzīm, who was a pupil of abu-Madyan Shu'ayb of Tilimsān, deserves special notice.

him directly with such ideas as the *Ishrāqī*s had evolved through ibn-'Arabi and al-Suhrawardi. But it was only under the influence of the Moroccan Sufi 'Abd-al-Salām ibn-Mashīsh¹¹² that al-Shādhili went to the region of Tunis to spread his doctrines. Persecuted for his teaching and especially for his influence on the people, he took refuge in Alexandria, Egypt, where his popularity extended and increased. As a *shaykh sā'iḥ*, a religious man seeking through a wandering life of meditation constant union with the divinity, he must have been attracted to the *Ishrāqī* system as a practical means for achieving that end. His profession of faith was the selfsame *tawḥīd*¹¹³ which survives so emphatically in our MS, and his Path consisted mostly of unostentatious practices evidenced by the fact that his immediate pupils had no *khalwah* (hermitage), monastery, noisy practices, or juggleries.¹¹⁴

Though many sayings are ascribed to the founder of al-Shādhiliyah, including some incantations, no long works are associated with his name.¹¹⁵ Aside from fragmentary information gleaned in various collections, there are two main sources which provide material on al-Shādhili, including several of his incantations. These are al-Sha'rānī's *Laṭā'if al-Minan*¹¹⁶ and ibn-'Iyād's *al-Mafākhir al-'Alīyah fī al-Ma'āthir al-Shādhiliyah*.¹¹⁷

While his teaching betrays dependence on *Ishrāqī* tenets it has been rightly asserted that al-Shādhili's message consisted in the inculcation of a higher morality based mainly on such exemplary Sufi com-

¹¹² al-Yāfi'i, vol. iv, pp. 140-41.

¹¹³ al-Yāfi'i, vol. iv, p. 141.

¹¹⁴ Consult A. Cour, art. "Shādhili," in EI.

¹¹⁵ Some of his sayings are recorded in the work of his disciple's pupil, Tāj-al-Dīn 'Aṭā'-Allāh al-Iskandari, composed in 694/1284-5; the best known of his so-called *ḥizbs*, incantations, is the *ḥizb al-baḥr* (Incantation of the Sea) which was reproduced by ibn-Baṭṭūṭah. See *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1893, vol. i, pp. 39-44; on the extraordinary powers attributed to these incantations see Ḥājji Khalfah, vol. iii, p. 58.

¹¹⁶ Printed Cairo, 1321; the incantations appear in vol. ii, pp. 47-66; on the margin of this work are two epistles by the aforementioned al-Iskandari entitled *Laṭā'if al-Minan* and *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*, respectively; the former dealing with the first two heads of the order was printed separately in Tunis, 1304.

¹¹⁷ Printed Cairo, 1314, pp. 135 *sqq.* Here fairly lengthy discourses are provided in some of which are described the stages through which the *murīd* should pass.

positions as *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*¹¹⁸ and *Qūt al-Qulūb*.¹¹⁹ Striving after *al-fanā'* (annihilation) continued to guide the whole life of the Shādhilis as the pages of our MS eloquently prove.¹²⁰ Yet abstinence from the world did not follow as a principle of living. Lists of selected formulas and prayers, whose repetition is not separated from the quest after miraculous powers, have been preserved for us.¹²¹ Though professedly orthodox, some Shādhili assertions did not fail to incur the censure of ibn-Taymiyah¹²² whose supporters in turn received the rebuke of al-Yāfi'i.¹²³ As a religious community the members of this order claim three peculiarities: 1) that they have been predestined as Shādhilis from eternity; 2) that ecstasy with them is followed by sobriety; and 3) that the *Quṭb* will throughout the ages be one of them.¹²⁴

From Tunis, the first home of the community, al-Shādhiliyah spread eastward to Alexandria, where abu-al-'Abbās al-Mursi (d. 686/1287-8), who was Shādhili's successor, resided for thirty-six years.¹²⁵ There a mosque, bearing his name,¹²⁶ was restored in 1189/1775-6. This must have been built by his disciples, who also raised another one to the memory of Mursi's disciple Yāqūt al-'Arshi (d. 707/1307-8), while a third was named after their joint disciple Tāj-al-Dīn ibn-'Aṭā'-Allah al-Iskandari (d. 709/1309-10), author of the *Laṭā'if*.¹²⁷

The home of al-Shādhiliyah had been for the most part to the west of Egypt, although members of the fraternity have been recently observed in Syria.¹²⁸ As for the patron saint of Mokha in South Arabia,

¹¹⁸ By abu-Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, 4 vols., Cairo, 1334.

¹¹⁹ By abu-Ṭālib al-Makki, Cairo, 1310.

¹²⁰ See below, pp. 70-73.

¹²¹ Ibn-'Iyād, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 126.

¹²² Died 728/1327-28; his views are conveniently presented in his *Kitāb al-Imān*, Cairo, 1325.

¹²³ 'Afīf-al-Dīn al-Yāfi'i d. 768/1366. The present reference is to vol. iv, pp. 142 *sqq.*

¹²⁴ Haneberg, p. 23.

¹²⁵ al-Sha'rānī, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 128.

¹²⁶ 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Jadīdah*, vol. vii, p. 69.

¹²⁷ He was also the author of another important work on which the author of our present MS wrote a commentary: *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam al-'Aṭā'iyah*; see CAM, no. 1582.

¹²⁸ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, 2 vols., New York, 1910, vol. ii, pp. 537, 538.

whose tomb was supposed to be that of al-Shādhili, it is more likely that he was a disciple and probably a cousin of Nāṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Dā'im ibn-Maylaq (d. 797/1394-5), head of the order in his time, whose real name was 'Alī ibn-'Umar al-Qurashi, a later member of the fraternity.¹²⁹

Author and Work.

The MS which is here studied and translated, belongs to the Bārūdī collection of Arabic MSS acquired by Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore in 1925. The collection, now deposited in the Princeton University Library, of which our treatise is No. 6,¹³⁰ contains 404 works, many of which are collections of miscellaneous compositions bound together in the same volume.¹³¹

Risālat Qawānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq ila Kull al-Ṣūfiyah bi-Jamī' al-Āfāq (A Treatise on the Articles of the Maxims of Illumination Addressed to all the Mystics of the World) is the only work on the teachings and practices of the *Ishrāqī* (illuministic) Sufis in the collection.¹³² Virtually it represents one of the very few works ever written by Sufis on this fascinating phase of Moslem mystical life. It harks back to the works of abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi and ibn-'Arabi, already cited.

The author, Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Tūnisi al-Shādhili al-Wafā'i al-Māliki Ṣafī-al-Dīn ibn-abi-al-Mawāhib,¹³³ is commonly referred to as abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili (d. A. H. 882/1477-8). His name reveals to us his affinity with the Shādhili fraternity. Thus it is self-evident that through the author's name and the title of his work two vistas are opened before our eyes, the one leading into the mysteries of the Illuministic school of thought, the other disclosing the birth and rise of an order of Moslem mysticism in which are crystallized many of the best and most typical characteristics of Sufism.

The Manuscript

This treatise is divided into an introduction and fifteen articles followed by a collection of maxims and concluded with a *waṣīyah* (a

¹²⁹ His verses are cited by ibn-'Iyād in *al-Mafākhir*, p. 7.

¹³⁰ CAM, No. 1583.

¹³¹ Buṭrus 'Abd-al-Malik, *A Critical Study of the Bārūdī Manuscripts* (Dissertation presented in candidacy for Ph. D., in Princeton, 1935), p. i.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹³³ Also known as ibn-Ḥājj and ibn-Zaghrān or Zaghdūn.

word of counsel). There are only a few marginal notes, and the MS, which consists of fifty-six folios,¹⁸⁴ is written by a different hand, beginning with fol. 30a. After the colophon there are three folios, two of which are blank while the third bears three autographs of owners. In general the MS is in a good state of preservation, although the cover is somewhat worm-eaten and the leaves are discoloured; the binding is Oriental in kind and the title appears on a sticker pasted on the back of the cover.

The copyist, who does not declare his identity, states in the colophon that this copy was completed on Sunday the 16th of Muḥarram A. H. 1056/1646.

Our MS has a number of sister copies. Of these five have been consulted and collated with the Bārūdī text. We shall now mention these other versions:

1. *The Leyden Catalog of Oriental MSS*¹⁸⁵ gives the following citation:

“*Risālat Qawānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq ila Kull al-Sufīyah bi-Jamīʿ al-Āfāq*: auctore Mohammed ibn-Ahmed ibn-Mohammed at-Tunisi as-Schādheli al-Wafai, vulgo Ibno-ʿl-Mawāhib dicto, qui quo anno obiit, dicere nequeo. Continet harum regularum quatuordecim, quas excipit recapitulatio summaria et admonitio ad amicos. Sex priorum argumenta hic describam.”

2. *The Catalog of the Berlin Royal Library*, Arabic MSS¹⁸⁶ refers to the work adding these remarks:

“Ein die Grundsätze der Çüfik behandelndes Werk des . . . abū elmewāhib—882/1477 . . . Das Werk ist in gereimter Prosa oft mit kurzen Versstücken vermischt.”

3. In the ‘*Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*’ published by the Khedivial Library in Cairo¹⁸⁷ we find mention of the same author and title and the fact that the copy was made in 1123/1711.¹⁸⁸

4. ‘*The Gotha Catalog*’¹⁸⁹ mentions the work and while assigning

¹⁸⁴ 20.4 x 14.7 cm.; written surface 13.5 x 9.5 cm.; 15 lines to page; on glazed European paper; in naskhi; with vowel signs; with catchwords; entries in red.

¹⁸⁵ Edited by M. J. DeGoeje, vol. v, Leyden, 1873, p. 33, no. 2285.

¹⁸⁶ Edited by W. Ahlwardt, vol. iii, Berlin 1891, p. 93, no. 3028.

¹⁸⁷ Second edition, Cairo, A. H. 1310, vol. ii, p. 103.

¹⁸⁸ The Berlin MS is dated 1115/1703, while that of Leyden carries no date.

¹⁸⁹ *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*, ed. Wilhelm Pertsch, Gotha, 1878, vol. ii, p. 183, no. 907.

it to the same author says: "Belehrung für Çûfi über vierzehn Hauptpunkte ihrer Lehre und ihres Wandels."

5. The last copy to come before our notice is in the *Vatican Collection of Arabic MSS.*¹⁴⁰

Author's Other Works

The present treatise is by no means the only work which abu-al-Mawāhib is known to have written. While none of his books has been critically studied in modern times, they must have been of marked significance to the students of Sufism in the Oriental world. Aside from our own, there are five different works preserved in manuscript form.¹⁴¹ In an epistle entitled *Risālah fi al-Taṣawwuf*, abu-al-Mawāhib treats of the fundamentals of Sufism when he deals with *munājāt al-murīd fi khalwat al-tafrīd* (the communion of the novice in solitude, alone with Allah). Here are also discussed the excellent names of Allah.¹⁴² Another treatise, *al-Tajalliyāt*¹⁴³ (Manifestations), reduces the scope of knowledge, as the people of Allah recognize it, to seven categories: 1) Gnosis of the names of Allah; 2) Gnosis of manifestations; 3) Gnosis of the discoursing of Truth with His servants through the tongue of the Law; 4) Gnosis of the perfection of being and its imperfection; 5) Gnosis of man as far as his realities go; 6) Gnosis of spiritual unveiling; 7) Gnosis of diseases and remedies. One of his books deals with the varieties of *samā'* (music) in the attempt to define its position and value in the Sufi community. It is entitled *Farah al-Asmā' bi-Rukhṣ al-Samā'*¹⁴⁴ (The Joy of the Ears with the Permission to Indulge in Music). The opening sentence acknowledges the bounty of God who permitted and made lawful the practice of singing "in spite of the stupid men of ignorance." Another volume is a *Dīwān* (Poetical Work) consisting of seventy-six folios,¹⁴⁵ alphabetically arranged. The first couplet is:

*Alif 'uttafāni ādhanat bi-fanā'i,
Fa-faraghtu 'an inni li-mal'i inā'i.*

¹⁴⁰ Bibl. Ital. xlvii, 14, no. 179; other MSS are mentioned in the *Elenco dei manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 1935, p. 21, and in BGL, *Supplement*, i, p. 152.

¹⁴¹ BGL, vol. ii, p. 253.

¹⁴² Ahlwardt, *op. cit.*, vol. ix, p. 94, no. 3030.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 128, no. 3097.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 61, 62, no. 5514. ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 104, no. 7916.

This represents one of his common methods of expressing Sufi ideas in symbolic language which is replete with puns. While it defies translation, this form of prosody is reminiscent of ibn-al-Fāriḍ.¹⁴⁶ The last of his works, available to us, is the MS called *Silāḥ al-Wafā'iyah bi-Thaghr al-Iskandariyah* (The Weapon of al-Wafā'iyah at the Seaport of Alexandria), otherwise known as *Risālat al-Awliyā'* (Treatise of the Saints).¹⁴⁷ This, in fact, was a guide to the Mystic Path with a few sayings of the author and of al-Shaykh Dāwūd al-Shādhili, added by a later hand.

Abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhili

Abu-al-Mawāhib was born in 810/1407¹⁴⁸ presumably in Cairo. He has long been remembered because of his qualities as a teacher and preacher of elegance, piety, devotion and righteousness. He wrote *muwashshahāt* (poems with two or more rhymes) of sacred nature and books dealing with spiritual subjects.¹⁴⁹ His domicile was near the Azhar University on the roof of which he had a cell (*khalwah*) close to the part where al-Ghūri,¹⁵⁰ the Mamlūk sultan, later built a minaret.¹⁵¹ So deeply engrossed was he in his writings, meditations and discourses that a kind of intoxication seemed always to govern his physical being. Therefore, while walking and swaggering about al-Azhar Mosque, he often drew from men various kinds of ejaculations. To some indeed he seemed but an idiot, to others, a very holy person.

Among his books was one entitled *al-Qānūn* (Canon)¹⁵² which treated of the sciences of the fraternity to which he belonged—"a unique book, the like of which has never been composed."¹⁵³ It testified to the perfect judgment of the author in matters of the Path.

¹⁴⁶ See below, p. 30.

¹⁴⁷ Otto Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, London, 1877, p. 185, no. 669; where reference will be found to another copy presumably extant at the British Museum.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Ahlwardt, *op. cit.*, vol. ix, p. 128, where the possibility of his birth date being fixed at ten lunar years later is intimated.

¹⁴⁹ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Sultān al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghūri, 906/1500-922/1516; see Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Paris, 1925, p. 83.

¹⁵¹ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

¹⁵² Cf. pl. *Qawānīn* which occurs in the title of our MS. Most probably this is our own treatise. See D, p. 1.

¹⁵³ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

Yet he failed to obtain the esteem and confidence of the sons of abu-al-Wafā',¹⁵⁴ for they persistently accused him of imitating their poetical works. Nevertheless, his prayers came to be recited at the Prophet's birthday celebration (sing. *mawlid*) and in places of worship (sing. *masjid*) in the presence of doctors of theology ('ulamā') and pious men who were swayed for joy upon hearing their brilliant words. His biographer thus concludes that his critics were largely motivated by jealousy. On one occasion his enemies found him while he was visiting the Mosque of al-Sādāt al-Wafā'iyah. Thereupon they assailed him with staggering blows until his head was wounded and bleeding. To this he only responded with smiles, saying, "Verily you are my masters, and I am your servant."¹⁵⁵ It is also reported that he used to say, "If you desire to depart from the brethren of wickedness, see to it that you first depart from your wicked qualities."¹⁵⁶ Another record of his life states that he was frequently found sobbing, being given to griefs and fears. His fears were contagious and one hardly refrained from sharing them.¹⁵⁷

Once he paid the generous sum of a hundred dīnārs to a tutor who had taught his son two sections of the Koran. Astounded at the handsome reward, the tutor suggested that he only deserved part of that sum for his services. At that abu-al-Mawāhib withdrew his son from that school and remarked, "This is a teacher who thinks much of worldly goods."¹⁵⁸

His ideas about *Ishrāq* are clearly shown in the course of the present treatise. He once declared that whatever degree of 'illumination' the seeker after truth may attain is the result of remembrance (*dhikr*) which illumines the mirror of the heart.¹⁵⁹ "All that reveals God to you is light, and all that fails to reveal him is darkness."¹⁶⁰

His pronouncements against fame and earthly glory are indicated by these words, "He who seeks popularity among men does that at the risk of incurring Allah's anger."¹⁶¹

Abu-al-Mawāhib secured for himself the title *Shaykh*. By al-

¹⁵⁴ Shams-al-Dīn abu-al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad al-Iskandari al-Shādhili lived 702/1302-760/1358. A number of his works are cited in BGL, vol. ii, p. 119; a notice of the Wafā'iyah Mosque and the family prestige of these exponents of al-Shādhiliyah is given by Ignaz Goldziher, "Neue Materialien zur Litteratur des Ueberlieferungswesen bei den Muhammedanern," in ZDMG, vol. 1, 1896, pp. 468, 469.

¹⁵⁵ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

¹⁵⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁵⁷ Sha'rāni, p. 68.

¹⁵⁸ Sha'rāni, p. 73.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Sha'rāni, his main biographer,¹⁶² he is referred to as "my master, the shaykh . . ." which is a form of reference applied only to the theologians of Islam who distinguish themselves through wisdom and saintliness. His wisdom reaches a climax in a passage like this:

"Verily, if you associate with the people of the world let your discourse with them tend to lift their sight from that which their hands accomplish to the glorification of the hereafter. If you associate with those of the hereafter, let your discourse with them centre on the teachings of the Book, the precepts of the *sunnah*¹⁶³ and the glorification of subsisting life. If you associate with kings speak to them of the men of justice and the prudence of the wise; while you maintain your sense of adoration towards them, declare the fact that you renounce their worldly power. If with the erudite, discuss the authentic reports and the well-established theories of intellectual schools which stand for truth untainted with prejudice; be fair to them in so far as their intellectual faculties and creative thinking agree with the truth, without argument. . . . With the Sufis discuss those subjects which confirm their righteousness and justify their crusade against evil. . . . With the gnostics you may discuss what you will, for to them everything has a form of gnostic meaning, provided that you use the appropriate words and hold them (the gnostics) in dignity and esteem."¹⁶⁴

Of al-Ḥallāj¹⁶⁵ he said, "Had he attained the reality of annihilation (*fanā'*), he would have been saved from the error he incurred through saying, "I am He."¹⁶⁶

Commenting on ibn-al-Fāriḍ's line:

"And all the woe of Job is but a part of my affliction"¹⁶⁷

he said: "That is because Job's affliction had to do with the body, not the spirit, whereas the affliction of the gnostic includes both."¹⁶⁸

Peculiarities of the Text

The treatise opens in terse, formal and elegant classical Arabic. Gradually there is revealed the weakness for those fifteenth and six-

¹⁶² There is a brief biography in al-Nabhāni, *Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'*, vol. i, p. 170; two other biographies are mentioned in BGL, *Supplement*, vol. ii, Leyden, 1938, p. 152, which fails, however, to note al-Sha'rāni.

¹⁶³ Life and sayings of the Prophet and his companions.

¹⁶⁴ Sha'rāni, p. 66. ¹⁶⁵ See below, p. 72. ¹⁶⁶ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ Fāriḍ T, p. 3, v. 16; Ni S, p. 201; see below, p. 79.

¹⁶⁸ Sha'rāni, p. 62.

teenth-century characteristics¹⁶⁹ of burdensome expression and empty imagery, of long-drawn-out description accompanied by the bombastic pedantry of style.¹⁷⁰ Rhymed prose is the rule rather than the exception with the consequent use of words and sentences which in no way help to enlarge and vivify the meaning.¹⁷¹ At certain instances it would seem that the only justification for the use of a word is the fact that it happens to supply the desired ending.¹⁷²

In the absence of paragraphs, recourse is made to keywords with which entries are prefaced. Such keywords are uniformly written in red ink. In the majority of cases, however, they are independent forms to be followed by a stop, although in some instances sense cannot be made without linking them to what follows.¹⁷³

Many parts of the book are, obviously, selections from a vast quantity of Sufi literature and other sources.¹⁷⁴ Only rarely is there reference to the provenance of such parts which figure prominently in the text. A number of clichés,¹⁷⁵ some of which belong to the common stock language of the Sufis, have crept in.

In the course of the text a large number of errors is encountered. The underlying cause of these is generally neglect, although some striking defects might inspire the suspicion that the copyist was patently ignorant of the real meaning of what he wrote.¹⁷⁶ Illegible words and phrases,¹⁷⁷ omissions,¹⁷⁸ diacritical ineptitudes¹⁷⁹ and various other discrepancies belong to this category.

Nor are infractions against the rules of grammar non-existent.¹⁸⁰ Colloquialisms¹⁸¹ have found their way into the vocabulary; poetry which should have the two hemistiches of every couplet written as a separate entity, as is the practice in the writing of Arabic prosody, occasionally assumes a prose-like appearance.¹⁸²

¹⁶⁹ Anīs al-Maqdisi, *Taṭawwūr al-Asālib al-Nathriyah*, vol. i, Beirut, 1935, pp. 227, 235, 236.

¹⁷⁰ See below fols. 1b, ll. 7-9; 2a, ll. 10-15.

¹⁷¹ Fols. 16a, l. 12; 18a, ll. 6, 7.

¹⁷² Fols. 6b, l. 15; 7a, ll. 8, 10.

¹⁷³ Fols. 4a, ll. 2, 4, 5; 46a, l. 8; 47a, l. 2; 48a, l. 4.

¹⁷⁴ For example see Fols. 6a, ll. 6, 7; 15a, ll. 8, 9; 18b, l. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Fols. 31b, l. 13; 38a, l. 15 may be cited as instances.

¹⁷⁶ To what extent these defects are to be attributed to the author raises a difficult problem.

¹⁷⁷ Fols. 44a, ll. 1-5; 53b, l. 7; 33a, l. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Fols. 46b, l. 2; 35a, l. 5; 5b, l. 12.

¹⁷⁹ Fols. 51a, l. 1; 53a, l. 2; 24a, l. 15.

¹⁸⁰ Fols. 38a, l. 10; 40a, l. 15; 33a, l. 9.

¹⁸¹ Fols. 46b, l. 5; 47b, l. 6; 55b, l. 3.

¹⁸² Fols. 5a, ll. 12, 13, 14; 8a, ll. 7, 8, 9; 14a, ll. 2, 3.

غاية المقصود دُفِعَتْ تَهْمُهُ إِذَا أَدْرَكَ حَقِيقَةَ الْفَنَاءِ وَتَحَقَّقَ
 إِذَا انْجَلَتْ الْخِشْيَ بِاسْمَائِهَا الْخِشْيَ حَقِيقَةً تَجَلَّى الْحَقِيقَةُ الْإِلَهِيَّةُ
 لِأَلْوَانِهِ تَتَقَاوَتُ حَسْبَ لَا تَتَعَدَّدُ وَالْإِمْكَانُ لَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْ
 الْقَوْمِ مَنْ يَمْلِكُ الْإِمَّالَ وَمَنْ يَمْلِكُ الْمَقَامَ وَنُشِبَتْ لَهُ التَّجَلَّى عَلَى
 دَقِيقَةٍ لَمْ تَجْرُذَتْ الْحَقِيقَةُ الدَّائِمَةُ عَلَى الْإِلَهِيَّةِ تَصَافٍ تَكُونُ
 مُعَا هَا فِي الْقَابِلِ لَهَا مِنْ الْأَوْصَافِ الْمَاءُ لَوْ أَنْ يَأْتِيَهُ شَقِي بِمَا
 وَاحِدُهُ وَنُقُذِلَ بَعْضُهُ عَلَى بَعْضٍ شَعْرٌ عَلَى قَدَرِكِ الصَّبَابِ نَقِطَتِكَ
 نَشْوَةٌ وَلَسْتُ عَلَى قَدَرِ السَّلَافِ تَصَابُ وَلَوْ أَنَّهَا نَقِطَتِكَ يَوْمًا
 بَعْدَ رَحَاءِ لَصَافَتْ بِكَ الْأَدْوَانُ وَهِيَ رَحَابُ حَقِيقَةِ تَجَلَّى الْجَمَالِ
 الْمَشَاهِدِ حَسَبَ مَا يُعْبَلُ الْمَشَاهِدُ هَذِهِ فَالْعَوَامُّ لَا يَسْتَدُونَ غَيْرَ مُشْهِدٍ
 حِينَ الْقُتُورَةِ الْجَبِيَّةِ وَالْحَوَاصِرُ رَفَعَتْ لَهَا الْبَتْرُغُ مَوْرِدَ الْخِشْيِ
 إِلَيْهِ تَجَلَّى بِهِ بَهَاءُ أَمَمِهِ تَعَالَى أَنْفَاجُ رِيحِ كُلِّ الْأَلْوَانِ بِجَمِيعِ الْمَطَاهِرِ
 تَوَاهُ أَنْ قَابَ غَنَى كُلِّ بَاجِرَحِيَّةٍ فِي كُلِّ مَعْنَى لَطِيفٍ رَاقٍ بِسَمِجٍ
 فِي ثَمَّةِ الْمَوَدِّ وَالنَّاءِ الرَّحِيمِ إِذَا نَاءَ لُغَايَتُ الْخَازِنِ مِنَ الْمَصْرَجِ
 وَفِي سَبَاحِ أَرْصَارِ الْحَمَلِ لَيْلَةٍ رَوْضِ الْأَصَالِ بِالْأَصْبَاحِ وَاللَّجْ

MAXIMS OF ILLUMINATION

[1b] In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Allah bless our master Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets and messengers. Says this servant, who is poor (*faqīr*) because of his want for poverty (*faqr*),¹ Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Tūnisi al-Shādhilī al-Wafā'i al-Māliki Ṣafi-al-Dīn ibn-abi-al-Mawāhib, Allah help him and help others through him, grant him aid but grant no aid to his opponents, so that He might draw him from all matters to Himself, in His care, patronage, knowledge and friendship, giving him good health in the two worlds and intimate communion with Him in the two existences, through Muḥammad the master of the messengers, Allah bless and keep him, ennoble and honour him. Praise Allah, the Wise, the Knowing, the Gracious, the Compassionate, Who treasured graceful wisdom in the hearts of His saints, removing therefrom the thick veils of obscurity, and brightened them with the light of understanding of His Holiness. He first addressed their hearts with the gracious gift of His (Divine) allocation (*khiṭāb*)² and His fellowship. Wherefore their sciences (those of the Sufis) are based upon the overflow of gifts, not upon constrained research or wearisome struggle for acquisition. Therefore, glory to One who bestows in a twinkling to whom He wills, whatever He wills, however He wills, for certainly, He, the Exalted, creates when He wills. "His command, when He intends anything, is only to say to it, Be, so it is."³ "He cannot be questioned concerning what He does and they shall be questioned."⁴ I praise Him for the bounties He bestowed and thank Him for His beneficent favours. Furthermore, I testify that there is no God but Allah, a gracious God whose goodness overflows all existent things and whose inner power animates the innermost hearts which hence become wider than the heavens and earths. And I testify that our master Muḥammad is His servant and Messenger, the sea of spiritual knowledge and the spring of [2a] divine sciences. Allah bless him

¹ On the significance of poverty in Sufism consult al-Sarrāj, pp. 47 *sqq.*

² Usually used in reference to passages of the "authentic" Gospel in which God is supposed to address Muḥammad, who according to Tradition was a prophet before the creation of Adam; Mathnawi, p. 65.

³ Koran, 36: 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21: 23.

with an everlasting blessing, perpetual and eternal—a blessing which is consonant with the holiest holiness of his perfection and is suitable for his great, most precious and majestic station, favouring him who prays for it with the vision of his beauty which gives rise to sentiments of joy that surpass those of the domestic gazelles in their coverts. May Allah show favour unto his companions—the swords of truth, the quintessences of realities⁵—who are like unto pearls in a necklace and stars for travel on the Paths (*ṭarā'iq*, pl. of *ṭarīq*, path). [May He also show favour] unto those who follow them [the companions] in their traits whereby they make their conduct agree with those [virtues] that are acquired or those with which the Creator endows the creatures.

I begin (*amma ba'd*), with the following maxims, fashioned after the principles of our Path, the ideas of which came to my mind during wakefulness as well as during sleep. I proceed to record them upon these pages by virtue of their elegant and clear contents. Their gnostical references⁶ assume the gentlest garb with the most subtle comments so eloquently conveyed that the readers' love-flame is ignited and his spirit revived by their rich fragrance. They charm the traveller (*sālik*) at the beginning and guide him, by Allah's will, to the end. The spirit of their import, as well as the form of their words, is free from affectation. The light emanating⁷ from their full moon is untainted by an eclipse or any spots. For the suns of their mystic knowledge never cease to rise. Their authorized dispensation is surely irreversible.

These are the gifts⁸ of those who do not feel the shame of receiving from God;

[2b] Who take no gifts not duly given them.

Therefore listen with your heart's ear to what they contain by way of certainties and whatever they convey of the kinds of Path regulations. For wine works in bodies and this magnetizes spirits. Verse :

Such words as excel the pearls in their symmetrical arrangement,
Intoxicating the spirit with their wine of meaning.

⁵ Free rendition of '*uyūn al-ḥaqā'iq*'. See Ni S, p. 114.

⁶ *Ma'arīf* pl. of *ma'rīfah*.

⁷ "The light emanating" is Arabic "*nūr ishrāq*." *Ishrāq*, however, is usually rendered "illumination."

⁸ '*Aṭā'*, i.e. the spiritual gifts and graces which God bestows on the mystic, Mathnawī, p. 63.

I have arranged the articles ⁹ of these maxims—maxims of illumination (*ishrāq*), in fourteen articles following the introduction. They consist of various forms of gnostic knowledge and mystical perception. And that is for the sake of the perfection of their full moon and whatever vantage points they may show forth in preference to similar treatises.

The First Article

An article on confirmation (*ta'yīd*) to the stations (*maqāmāt*, pl. of *maqām*)¹⁰ of unity, consisting of facts and notes which instruct the novice (*murīd*) and point out the desired object (*murād*) for the traveller in the easiest ways, if Allah, the Exalted, is willing.

The Second Article

An article on repentance that implies returning. It contains a confirmation (*taqrīr*) and a warning (*taḥdhīr*) which prevent deception and falling into evil, if Allah, the Exalted, is willing.

The Third Article

An article on sincerity which presents signs and indications that enable one to weigh his words [3a] and deeds.

The Fourth Article

An article on veracity consisting of stations and spiritual feelings (*ḥālāt*) that help one to distinguish between the state and the feeling.

The Fifth Article

An article on watchfulness (*murāqabah*) conveying flashes and perceptions which might produce a 'state of communion' at a given station, if Allah is willing.

The Sixth Article

An article on love conveying fragrance and glimpses that whet the appetite of the contemplative one (*mushāhid*) in the moods of contemplation (*mushāhadāt*).

⁹ Ar. sing., *qānūn*.

¹⁰ Sufi term; in the course of the translation technical Sufi words will be given an English equivalent followed by the transliteration of the Arabic original, within parentheses and underlined.

The Seventh Article

An article on renunciation (*zuhd*) in which there is enlightenment and detachment from the world (*tajrīd*), both of which distinguish the one who has this (renunciation) from the one who does not have it.

The Eighth Article

An article on poverty (*faqr*) containing some investigation and integration. By showing the two forms of poverty, the difference is shown between the station of holiness and the condition of profanity.

The Ninth Article

An article on hypocrisy containing such integration and clarification as would expose the position of the hypocrite in the sight of the discreet person.

The Tenth Article

An article on gnosis (*ma'rifah*), consisting of contemplations and a witness (*shāhid*), that is, the witness of the feeling of the gnostic which witnesses for him in the two practices of gnostical knowledge and elegancies of theosophy.

[3b]

The Eleventh Article

An article on annihilation (*al-fanā'*)¹¹ containing some objectives and thoroughfares which rectify for one his conviction when he expresses his strange annihilation.

The Twelfth Article

An article on subsistence (*baqā'*) consisting of rules and remarks. Upon its rules are founded the regulations of the Path and through its remarks the theosophies of investigation are established.

The Thirteenth Article

An article on sainthood (*wilāyah*) in general, consisting of regulations that enable one to walk in the path of righteousness. Should he stumble, contrition and reproof would overtake him.

¹¹ For a study of annihilation (*fanā'*) and subsistence (*baqā'*) consult Smith S, pp. 215 sqq., 242, and 252. Cf. Nicholson, "The Goal of Muḥammadan Mysticism," in JRAS, 1913, p. 56; Mathnawi, pp. 20-21.

The Fourteenth Article

An article on special sainthood containing the conjuration of the treasured talisman and the decipherment of recondite riddles in the freshest of lucid passages which reach the hearing by penetrating one's natural constitution.

Thereupon I bring these articles to a close with a book that groups together different maxims. Next is a well-wisher's advice which will mark the close of mystical signs. . . . Having finished my work of verification of the original principles and fundamentals involved, I assigned to the work the title: *A Treatise on the Articles of the Maxims of Illumination Addressed to all the Mystics of the World*. From Allah, glory to Him, I invoke acceptance, and the fulfillment of hopes and aspirations, that He may protect me by the mercy of His bounty against the wrath of His justice and by the pity of His forbearance against the laws of His knowledge. Amen, O Guardian. Answer us, Amen, by Thy mercy, O Thou most merciful One.

[4a]

The Introduction

Here are embodied the significance of wisdom amongst the wise, its significance amongst the literalists (*ahl al-ẓāhir*) and its significance among the esoterists (*ahl al-bāṭin*). As for its significance amongst the wise, they say that wisdom is a theoretical art the student of which acquires a concept regarding the status of this existence; this he is to acquire through learning. The significance it holds amongst literalists attaches to their notion that it helps in knowing the wisdom of the established sciences of the Law (*al-sharī'ah*). On the other hand its significance amongst the esoterists attaches to their implication that it helps to show the significance of absolute wisdom whose truth comprehends all things both obligatory and optional.¹² What our treatise envisages belongs to this last category, and when a person becomes possessed of this kind [of wisdom], he will be the wise man *par excellence*; hence to be named the perfect man (*al-raḥul al-kāmil*), the perfected (*al-mukammal*), he falls heir to the Muḥammadan wisdom and the Aḥmadi station. The remembrance of him shall ever be diffused, coupled with admiration, in this world, in view of his qualities of wisdom. Verse:

¹² *Kull shay' min wājib wa-mumkin*, reminds one of Avicenna's article in which he defines *al-wājib al-wājūd* and *al-mumkin al-wājūd*; see his *Kitāb al-Najāh*, p. 62 in *ibn Sīna, Kitāb al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb*, Rome, 1593.

They say that the memory of a man is preserved in his offspring,
That he who has no offspring remains without remembrance.
To these I say that the masterpieces of my wisdom are my
offspring.

Verily he who is pleased with having offspring, shall find this
to be our consolation.

THE FIRST ARTICLE

An Article on Confirmation to the Stations of Unity

Said Allah, the Exalted, "Know that there is no god but Allah."¹³
Fact (*ḥaqīqah*): The absolute simplicity (*aḥadīyah*) of the Divine
essence is marked by the absence of any attributes from all eternity,
whereas His unity in multiplicity (*wāḥidīyah*) is manifest to all
eternity. For the Ancient One has neither [4b] a beginning nor an
end. Note (*daqīqah*): To express the unity of Allah in practice is
to know what it is, and to know it, is to practice it. For that reason
he who knows it puts it into practice, and he who acts in accordance
with it knows it. Verse:

The assertion of unity to an investigator is none other than
knowing it.

Understand, therefore, the wisdom of unity.

Many lights flicker and die;

Their plurality proceeds from the one, therefore be steadfast.

Fact: To assert the unity that is meant when you say "He," (that is,
to say that Allah is the one reality of all individual existences), is to
affirm the multiplicity of unity, whereas to assert the unity that is
meant when we say "I," is isolation (*ifrād*). Therefore, if you desire
to be immersed in the sea of unity [with the Divine Reality] and also
to stand upon the shore with all individuals [as an orthodox Moslem
should], let your declaration of the unity of Allah be: that His
Essential Being, expressed in the pronoun "He," is without any of
the attributes which could be expressed also by the pronoun "He."
Then the distance that is between Him and you is effaced, and the
dot of the [letter] *ghayn* of the [word] *ghayn* (film) is removed,
and that removes the film from my eye¹⁴ and makes me see that I

¹³ Koran 47: 21.

¹⁴ The occurrence of puns in this section reminds one of the words of Addison:
"A pun can be no more engraven than it can be translated. When the word is

am the very Being of Allah, without any sense of place, since I am in that Presence where absence and presence (He and I) are one, and inner being and outer manifestation meet in equation. Note: Your assertion of His oneness is not that by which the One is one; rather, He is, in any case, one. Just as knowing the learned man is not the thing that makes him learned, likewise the assertion of unity does not make the One one. Glory to thee, for what thou art; no reality asserts thy unity but thyself. I can not reckon up thy bounties and praise,¹⁵ all these are from thee and unto thee. Both he who asserts the transcendence of Allah (that is Allah's freedom from all anthropomorphism) and the assertion itself depart when all characteristics of him who asserts the Oneness of Allah and the assertion itself pass away in the One. Fact: The unifying of Essence in eternity, through the contemplation of Oneness, does not really witness to the visions of infinite Oneness. For through oneness occurs the first manifestation of God (*al-tajalli*) in the presence of Oneness, through complete union (*al-jam'*). The second manifestation depends on the establishment of the spheres, [5a] hence the discord among witnesses caused by the disparity in visions. Fact: the manifestation of essence (*al-tajalli al-dhāti*) is different from the manifestation of the attributes (*al-tajalli al-ṣifāti*); hence according to the principles of detachment each reality has its own form of unification. Fact: The necessity for the existence of the essence is one with the necessity for divine attributes. That the attributes are many does not require counting His essence a plurality. Indeed, the attributes are not His very essence, nor are they extraneous to it, for that which is named is One, although the names are many. Verse:

The fact of manifold attributes is not strange.

Strangeness lies in that they are seen by their own eyes.

Note: Multiplicity of names evidences the purification of the named whence the variety of His names in the presence of His glory, while

construed into its idea, the double meaning vanishes." See his *Ancient Medals* II, in *The Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Addison*, edited A. C. Guthkelch, vol. ii, London, 1914, pp. 362-3. See Fāriḍ T, p. 34, no. 483; Ni S, p. 244.

¹⁵ These words are from the Tradition that when God said to the Prophet, on the night of his Ascension (*mī'rāj*): "Praise Me," the Prophet answered: "I cannot reckon up thy bounties and the infinite praise and thanks due to thee from me." Consult Mathnawi, p. 21; *Lisān al-'Arab*, Cairo, 1300, vol. xviii, 201, 4.

He is unified in the depth of the Holiness of His Essence. Fact: Manifestation of the Essence of the Truth obliterates the universe while the manifestation of His attributes guarantees for them (attributes) fixity. Whence the inability of eyes to perceive the Essence and of the minds and wits to conceive of it. How and wherefore can a transient, temporary and weak being conceive of the Ancient Cause (*wājib*)¹⁶ of existence? Verse:

All gnosis and gnostics are drowned
In the sea of adoration for the First Cause.
O you who are trying to behold His potentialities with yours,
This attempt is far out of your reach.

Note: The ancient is other than the created. Therefore, when realities disagree, then "pathways" are rendered impassable. Verse:

How may one reach Su'ād, as long
As mountain peaks and death stand in the way?
The feet are bare, there is no mount,
My means are short, dreadful the way.

But if He means to join you to Him he causes you to be annihilated, that you might see Him through Him as He sees you in reality.

An eye she gave him which he could see her,
What saw her, then, was her own eye, indeed.

Fact: Since the One is superior, in all ways, to the bounds of infinity, all rivals and peers, at this point, become nothing.

Intellect in Him finds no end,
He can make much or little use of it as He wills.

Fact: The negation of the non-existent and the affirmation of the cause of existence are both the features of purification, according to His condition, glory to Him. He alters the possibilities of the impossible. Fact: The assertion of the He-ness (*huwīyah*) does not entail the understanding of the identity. Unify Him, therefore, as He is, for what He is, that you may be among them that unify, those who, in reality, have not deviated. Note: The mystic sign "He" (*huwa*) in asserting unity, is peculiar to the elect (*al-khawāṣṣ*), just as assertion after negation is common to the ordinary, hence the

¹⁶ Consult *Tahāfut*, pp. 65, 208, 164, 166, 201, 342.

use of that signal in the eye to eye interview; this expression is used in the station of evidence and proof. Fact: He who stands near the guide in the universe is hidden from the eyes of contemplation. He is satisfied with the shell, rather than the kernel, even though he were a man of intelligence. Do you not see the great chasm between one who stands at the entrance and one who is prepared for the blissful privilege of discourse?

[6a] Research among ruins only alienates one,
From the towering zones of the highest ideal.
Accept not, therefore, the shell instead of the kernel.
Nor hide at the door from the presence of communion.

Note: Controversial discussions are rambles in presumptuous imagination, with no benefit to one except flippancy of the tongue accompanied by lack of adoration in the heart. He who is satisfied with these shall stumble and he who stands by them shall reap regret. . . . Fact: Any idea that you take from others which might show you another line of procedure shall blind your view in your present and future condition. Furthermore, when you ponder over the thoughts of your colleagues, tribulations shall give you wings with which you will soar into the sky of frustration. Abandon, therefore, Intelligence and Reasoning Powers and all indulgence in experimentation and officiousness (*fudūl*).¹⁷

The band around your intellect surrounds it with illusions,
While the heart changes your word and thought.
You wander in the open spaces of illusions out of fascination
Created in you by reason and tradition;
You carved with your mind an idol with which you are
infatuated,
While your stronghold of reason is all unravelled by Truth.¹⁸
Long have I lived like you in pain,
I have a heart diseased by the same ache.

Note: No one shall see God if he seek evidence of Him. No man shall reach Him if he prefer to be travelling towards Him, [6b] for had he seen Him the sight would have overjoyed him and had he reached Him all his fatigue would have been taken away. Fact: The

¹⁷ *Fudūli* would be "busybody," "meddler," "officious."

¹⁸ This line is freely rendered.

unitarian is one whose features (*rusūm*) pass away while in the presence of the Unified One; he shall commune with the One during the stations of isolation (*tafrīd*). He shall be overpowered by the light of observation when he witnesses the glories of the universe. To him shall become clear what is manifested, then, of the realities of Names and Attributes. The tongue of his new findings shall sing of the windings of his path:

This existence though outwardly manifold,
By your life, only consists of you.

Note: The sign of the unitarian, O men, is his conscience [that is steadfast] in wakefulness and in sleep. Verse:

Your beauty is in my imagination and eye,
Residing and unconcealable once it is uncovered;
If I slumber I stop with you,
If I wake I begin with you.

Fact: The possession of gnosis by gnostics enables them to understand the realities of the taste, nay even to witness revelations while others do not have these powers nor the quality of fairness. . . .

Note: The evidences of unification witness to one who has discovered it (unification); the 'presences' of oneness are revealed to the one they call upon; blessed, therefore, is the one from whose sight the veils have been lifted—one who can do without argument and fellow-discourers. Verse:

[7a] She uncovered for us her face behind the veil;
Come, welcome, O life, greetings to you!

Fact: The victory of the light of clarity makes veiling a necessity—that is veiling of light by light.

Ne'er did she hide except by lifting her veil.
I marvel at this appearance that is really hiding.

Note: There is nothing which does not point to Him; the trouble is that you do not know how to move towards Him. His creatures prove His unity and His wonders establish His isolation. In all things He has a wonder which shows that He is one. Fact: The emergence of endurance (*qayyūmiyah*) in created things is precisely what creates in them the rise of attributes. Should the folly of

imagination be wiped away from your eyes, you would behold in the entire universe Him who was and is [and will be].

Except Allah, all other things are vain.

Fact: When the light of an object is glaring the perception of it becomes hard. Do you not see that the weak-sighted fail when they look at the sun.

Even as the daylight enables one the better to see
Though a blinding effect it has on the eyes of bats.

Fact: The phenomenal manifestation of Divine Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah al-ilāhīyah*) when it is manifested before the Human Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah al-insānīyah*) effaces from it the dualism (*thanawīyah*) of humanity (*al-nāsūt*) and upholds the isolation of Divinity (*al-lāhūt*).

In every particle did the Merciful One reveal Himself to me,
Whether in the uppermost world or the lowest one.

He said, "My perfection has entirely perplexed men,
So that he who writes as he who creates new works were
made to marvel.

Take care, therefore, to witness to no other form of beauty.
Set His Majesty in holiness above "after" and "before."

[7b] Note: There is no incarnation as regards the reality of the unity of the One because He is a dualism that can not be augmented. Yet the reality of the truth of annihilation itself required some to utter the word "I." Fact: The manifestation of the attributes of the Subsistent required the annihilation of worlds and institutions while the tongue of His Isolation in individuals has caused both the pupil and the teacher to be perplexed. Note: Through the One who acted at His own free choice was the beginning and by the quality of His endurance the universe came into being and evolved toward its goal. Wherefore, observe with the vision of your intellect, O observed one (*malḥūẓ*). "And Allah encompasseth them on every side. Nay! it is a glorious Koran in a guarded tablet."¹⁹ Fact: The protecting presence of His essence encompasses His attributes and the protection of His attributes encompasses the praises of His names. His names influence His deeds in the universe, through the marvelous manifestations which He instills in them. Note: By His

¹⁹ Koran 85: 20, 21, 22.

wisdom He hid His Essence out of sight, behind the veils of attributes, thus He concealed Himself behind the phenomena that reveal Him in the universe. All definitions that seek to show His presence and His words have failed. Fact: For the servant to comprehend His encompassing him with the fold of His vision, and the attempt to witness God is the limit to him who acknowledges and tastes the drink profusely.

Failure to arrive at comprehension is like the sun at its morning height

Moving in its orbits of the skies above all doubt.

Failure (*'ajz*, lit. inability) is negative and Reason is positive; how has the veracious one made [Failure] the [8a] ultimate goal? Yea, you shall understand Him when you understand the reality of annihilation. Excellence (*al-ḥusna*) shall then be manifested in the excellent names. Fact: Manifestation of divine reality in the universe differs according to one's readiness and capacity; hence to some Sufis who acquiesce in feeling, and to others, stations surrender, and they actually experience manifestations all along. Note: When the Essential Reality (*al-ḥaqīqah al-dhātīyah*) is detached, in spite of having attributes, it will assume the significance of whatever attributes are adapted to it; for water takes the colour of its container; we drink the same water yet prefer some kinds to other kinds.

Red liquor gives you dizziness according to your strength,
You are not enlivened according to the amount you sip.
If ever it were to stir you as much as its own strength,
The whole wide world would be too small for you.

Fact: The manifestation of beauty in objects varies with the gift of the observer. Thus the common folk do not see other than the appearance of physical beauty while the chosen have unveiled before them the picture of abstract beauty in which is manifested the splendour of His name, the Exalted, that is resplendent in all creation through various phenomena.

When he is gone my every limb beholds him still,²⁰
In every form of charm and grace and elegance,

²⁰ The lines of poetry here reproduced are by ibn-al-Fāriḍ. See Fāriḍ D, p. 174, nos. 5 and 6, p. 175, no. (1). Cf. Shelley, *Epipsychidion*:

In solitudes
Her voice came to me through the whispering woods,

In the melody of the lute and the music of the flute,
 Mingled in concert with harmonious airs ;
 In green hollows where the roaming gazelles browse,
 In the cool of eve or at the break of dawn.

[8b] Note: One who strives after the glamour of lower beauty is deprived of the vision of sublime beauty. Abandon, therefore, struggle in the narrow straits of lower regions and arise through your energy to the highest plane. . . .

THE SECOND ARTICLE

An Article on Repentance that Implies Returning

Said Allah, the Exalted: "and repent to Allah all of you believers! That you may be successful."²¹ Confirmation (*taqrīr*): the conditions of repentance among the Sufis (*al-jamā'ah*), by unanimous agreement in contradistinction to the people of deviation and innovation, are: Penitence for all violations committed by the servant, the abandonment of them forthwith without hesitation or looking backward, the resolve never again to follow the same way in the forthcoming days, restitution of all property that has been misappropriated and seeking liberation from falling into vices. Warning (*taḥdhīr*): Beware of riding the lame mount of disobedience which will fail you amidst the winding marches of the road. Rather should you plod along the direct route, in the right path. Confirmation: Verily He has commanded you to repent in order to cleanse you from defilement and clothe you with the qualities of sanctification (*al-taqdīs*). Purify yourself, therefore, from your mean and contemptible traits and adopt His praiseworthy and glorious qualities.

They have held you a candidate for a high position.

See to it that you do not graze with the herds.

Warning: Take care not to forsake repentance, for the mark of progress is following the path of success. Confirmation: He who has not acquired repentance in reality is not purified according to the

And from the fountains, and the odorous deep
 Of flowers. . . .

And from the singing of the summer birds,
 And from all sounds, all silence.

¹ Koran 24: 31.

followers of the Path. Purify yourself, therefore, and become one of those who repent, for "surely Allah loves those who repent and He loves those who purify themselves."²² Warning: Take care not to found your stronghold of [good] deeds on anything but the foundation of repentance; otherwise, you will be like one who builds on the brink of a bank undermined by the corrosive torrent.²³ Warning: The repentance of ordinary men is a passing mood, whereas that of the chosen is a constant practice. The repentance of the ranking men among the chosen is a mark of distinction and worthiness — dependence on "stations" (*maqāmāt*) and "lights" (*anwār*). Confirmation: Take care that having genuinely repented you shall not feel secure, even though you might receive the good tidings of acceptance; for verily He, the Exalted, can not be questioned concerning what He does, and you will be questioned.²⁴ Confirmation: Repentance does not bring bliss nor does the abandonment of it bring misery. Nevertheless, it has been created as a protection for you. Warning: Take care not to pretend that you have repented while you inwardly persist in your wickedness; you shall be like unto the hypocrites who are satisfied with the acclaim of men at the risk of enraging against themselves the Lord of the universe. Confirmation: Surely the resolve that moves the Sufis towards abandonment is their realization of the evil ways that control them. Warning: Take care not to be allured by the promises of hope and procrastination which will make you lose the acquisition of proximity (*qurb*) in the high [9b] station. Confirmation: He to whom God shows the ugliness of the clothes of sins shall, by Allah, loathe to don their shameful attire. Warning: Take care not to fall victim to the mirage of disobedience whence you will be stained with the stigma of uncleanness; you will be exposed and nothing shall hide you from your shamefulness. Consequently men shall shun your company in abhorrence of your malodorous qualities. Confirmation: The Sufi stipulation for repentance is to break with the society of the disobedient. To begin with, desert your own traits, for that is more pleasing to your Creator. Warning: Take care not to return to the place you deserted and to the spot where you parted [with disobedience], for there you might immediately suffer a relapse. Confirmation: He who continually repents in accordance with self-will and resolution shall be the truthful, the veracious, who is bound to arrive at journey's end. Warning:

²² Koran 2: 222.²³ Cf. Matthew 7: 24 seq.²⁴ Cf. Koran 21: 23.

Take care against luke-warmness and indolence, for verily these belong to the brotherhood of the reprovèd and blameworthy. He who accompanies such shall progress no more toward his desired profit and felicity. Shall it not be enough that the virtue of repentance saves one from the desolation of perils and draws him, though far away he may be, to the Ruling Lord? . . . How widely different the repentance of a longing lover from that of one who repents because of fear and diffidence! [10a] The former is moved by yearning for the contemplation of beauty while the latter is warned by the fear of the authority of majesty. Warning: Take care, O prudent one, O artful and quick-witted, not to make your repentance a means for the acquisition of your own object; rather let it be servanthship (*'ubūdiyyah*)²⁵ to the Lord that you might become one of the chosen folk, those who seek after the truth and salvation. Confirmation: Someone was wont not to seek repentance; he rather sought after the appetite for repentance that he might discover the motive for the resolve which is the proper way for the self-willed. Warning: Take care not to pretend that you have achieved a station of repentance whereas you remain unshaken in your addiction to lustful pursuits, wasting your time in your bad habits. What a difference indeed! The finding of Truth has signs. Confirmation: The station of repentance does not mean that one is no more a beginner. For the beginning entails the struggle of mortification (*mujaḥadah*), while the end shall bring forth the delight of contemplation. In fine, the beginning marks the lifting of the veil of self and purification, whereas the end is the possession of perfection and enlightenment. Or one may say that the beginning is abandonment followed by embellishment whereas the end is preparation for the light of manifestation. Or, the beginning is to avoid infamous attributes whereas the end is to flee from mean traits. Or you may say that the beginning marks the filling of the vessel with "I" whereas the end stands for pouring both "you" and "I" out of it. One might even state that by the beginning is the end recognized—spiritual power of discernment (*firāsah*) without the uncovering of devotion [10b] which becomes possible by practice. Finally, it might be said that

²⁵ This abstract noun-form comes from the root "*'abada*"—worship, serve, submit. Akin to it is the concrete formation "*'aba*"—slave, worshipper, servant of God. Hence it must be clear that our term equals adoration. I shall, however, follow Professor Nicholson's new-coined compound "servanthship" as a close English rendition. See al-Hujwiri, Index II.

when the basis of the beginning rests upon [these] principles one shall find all the objectives and benefits which he covets. Warning: Take care to lay the foundations of your path on none other than the cornerstone of the fear of God that you may not be among the people of deviation and dissension. Rather secure for yourself the best protection that you may find your joy and comfort in the grave.

THE THIRD ARTICLE

An Article on Sincerity

Said Allah, the Exalted, "Therefore, call upon Allah, being loyal to Him in obedience."²⁶ Sign: The loyal one is he who does not change upon being tested after he has received the blessings of gratitude. Evidence: When you see one to whom friend and foe are equal mark him well as the honest, loyal and near-to-God (*qarīb*). Sign: He who owes obedience to God alone shall be considered loyal among fellow Sufis (*'ind al-jamā'ah*). Evidence: Loyalty of the loyal reveals itself in his condition and not by his expressed words. Sign: You will find the loyal hiding his good deeds, covering them with the raiment of feeling; if interrogated concerning them (the deeds), he shall say nothing to explain them; rather shall he deny his doings when asked. Evidence: Him whom you shall find anxious to make known his vile mistakes and to secrete his fine and excellent qualities, you might well mark out as a man of distinguished station and lofty standing in loyalty. Sign: To the loyal shall God assign a place of praise among men although he (the loyal) shall neither choose nor aim at this. Evidence: When you behold a man who welcomes praise, know that he is verily [11a] a liar, a perishing one (*hālik*). Sign: The state of the loyal is not unknown to the critical minds of the chosen although the common folk (*al-'awāmm*) might sincerely believe him. For that which is treasured in the depths of the bosom reveals itself on man's exterior. What can the tongue secrete when the discernment of perception shall expose it? Evidence: He who dons the robe of loyalty wears a crown in the view of the common and the chosen; this is self-evident, obvious, a fact of known truth. Sign: The words of the loyal are acceptable, his lofty ideals are copied and his progress enhanced in all phases and towards all objectives. Evidence: When you observe that your fervor for secret

²⁶ Koran 40: 14.

worship is waning while it rises in favour of public worship, know that you are distant from loyalty and have not yet moved among the chosen. Sign: The loyal shall gain new strength while alone with Truth, secluded from the eyes of human beings. Evidence: Any deed you perform to please men may draw you far from the Lord of the world. Subject yourself, therefore, to the verdict of a balance (*mīzān*) and discover whether your scale shall rise or fall. Sign: If the loyal rise, he shall rise by Allah; if he sit, he shall sit with Allah; if he move, he shall seek only Allah; if he is silent, he is only quieted by Allah; if he ask, he shall ask from Allah; if he work, he shall work by Allah; if he is to be given anything, his taking shall be from Allah's hand—all his affairs are from Allah, to Allah, in Allah, and by Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah. There is no power or strength except in Allah.²⁷ Evidence: When you see one who trusts in men and depends on them, [11b] relying on them in all his deeds, yet professing a station of loyalty and piety, certainly beware of him, for he is a man of conceit and dissension. Sign: When you find one who considers the society of men solitude and seeks fellowship with his master through spiritual utterances (*anfās*) mark him well as the truly loyal, the chosen, the elect. Evidence: If you trust more in your Master than in your own inclinations, then you are loyal to Him and He is your Master, indeed.

THE FOURTH ARTICLE

An Article on Veracity

Allah, the Exalted, said: "O you who believe! be careful of your duty to Allah and be with the true ones."²⁸ Station (*maqām*): When the traveller controls his feeling (*al-ḥāl*), he shall become the owner of a station and shall conduct himself according to it and by it always. Feeling: It is that which changes and vanishes, controlling its owner while he does not control it, that is a feeling. . . . Station: That which is gradually gained shall bring in the station which will strengthen one's steps in travel. Feeling: The most lofty feeling is that which no impossibility shall accompany. Station: To walk steadily with the other Sufis (*al-qawm*) in a 'station' assures one of the realization of the true station. Feeling: One who has a feeling shall stand or fall by its change; he will show weariness by the lack

²⁷ " *La ḥawla wa-la qūwata illa bi-Allāh.*"

²⁸ Koran 9: 120.

of firmness. Station: If you are able to receive more through firmness, then you shall be among the owners of stations and ranks (*darajāt*). Feeling: The feeling of the novice (*al-murīd*) differs from that of the desired object (*al-murād*). To a novice the feeling comes and goes while the feeling of the 'desired object' never vanishes. Station: The novice may acquire the station of beginners (*maqām al-bidāyah*) [12a] through veracity of feeling (*al-hāl al-ṣādiq*) while the 'desired object' has the final station in the station of excellence. Feeling: The one of veracious feeling among the men of veracity gains dignity and majesty, just as the owner of a station shall bear this mark of beauty. Station; He whom you see progressing by adopting traits that do not belong to the ordinary crowd (*al-ʿawāmm*) shall among the Sufis (*al-qawm*) figure as the holder of a station. As he progresses he shall learn and acquire whatwithal he shall be more good and lasting. Feeling: If a traveller (*sālik*) derives his feelings from the victory of the descent of spiritual meanings into the heart (*al-wāridāt*) and marches on with firmness towards the light of contemplation, he shall be considered the owner of feeling among men. Station: When the traveller shall find his lights at will, he shall be an owner of a station and a desired object. Feeling: The descent of feeling gives rise to absence (*ghaybah*) after presence (*ḥuḍūr*); it deadens the senses by the triumph of light. Station: He who finds solace in what he lives for, that shall be a station granted him. Feeling: He who does not experience order in his conduct but rather disruption, ill-temper and dissatisfaction and weariness—that certainly is a state of lassitude, greatly abhorred by the people of [God's] blessings. Station: He who shall be peaceful at heart, watching for the passing thoughts (*al-khawāṭir*) that descend upon him, shall be among the owners of supreme stations (*al-maqāmāt al-sanīyah*), above the folks of pleasant feelings. Feeling: The greatest feelings are those that bring stations to their owner, that he might contemplate his poverty and incapacity at all times. Station: The supreme station is that which makes accessible the supreme feelings, and instills perfection in its owner.

[12b]

THE FIFTH ARTICLE

An Article on Watchfulness

Said Allah the Exalted, "And Allah is watchful over all things." ²⁹

²⁹ Koran 33: 52.

Flash (*lā'ih*):³⁰ The lightening of the contemplation of the manifestation of his Near Name struck glaringly in the heart of an attendant servant at the presence of the watchful sentinel (*al-raqīb*).³¹ This made it necessary for him to observe regular attendance, the veils and barriers of darkness having been removed. Idea (*sānih*): The thought of Truth's sentinel came to the heart of a servant who was lonely among men. Thereupon, his thoughts became enthralled by the sentinel of danger, as he passed through this mood, especially when he felt the coming of the sentinel, in the presence of the beloved (*al-ḥabīb*).

I and the beloved were never alone,
For a twinkling of an eye, unless a sentinel stood by;
Nor were we alone that Time might allow
Me to say, "Thou art my beloved." . . .

Flash: The mind's eye of the meditator perceived the vision of the beauty of the presence which at one glance filled his mind to the exclusion of all other sights. Idea: The phantom of beauty came upon the devoted (*mutawajjih*)³² heart which seeks (*tālib*), and it was made to wander in the lands of the East and the West. Flash: A heart began the watch of meditation in the presence of the beloved ones until it felt a flash of pleasing discourse that dispelled its fears of perdition the very moment it heard it. Idea: There passed through the heart and thought of a longing person a glimpse of the splendour and beauty of the loved one which turned him like unto a person bewitched by the sorcery of the Babylonians; all this took place when his longings and nightingales of joy were loosed. Flash: When the heart stood [13a] upon the carpet of observing the beloved, a sense of safety was thus engendered within it against fear of the

³⁰ From the verb "*lāḥa*," to appear, to shine, to flash. The rendition of these keywords has been more or less arbitrary.

³¹ We have used "sentinel" in preference to "watcher." Reference might here be made to the fact that besides the two protagonists, Arabian love-poetry introduces several minor figures, who play a helping or hindering part in the idyll. Other than *al-raqīb* there were *al-wāshi*, the slanderer, *al-lā'im*, the blamer and *al-lāhi*, the railer. See Ni S, pp. 178 *seq.*

³² An adjective from *wajaha*. It covers the idea of being set in a given direction. But its meaning is certainly much deeper since it is reminiscent of *wajh* = face; its biblical and koranic uses reveal an ancient Semitic significance. See A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, pp. 211, 284, 355.

sentinel. Idea: The phantom of the beloved flitted over the longing heart which thereby became swollen with fondness and longing. Flash: It came like a spectral description seen in the mirror of the imagination; yet it required fondness and passionate love; howbeit if the observing lover had actually enjoyed union (*al-wiṣāl*)³³ in the presence of witnesses and union (*ittiṣāl*). Idea: The courier of thought passed over the fields of the intellect. It sent forth the hawk of hunting that it might catch some birds. Whereupon the gazelle of the tribe (*ghazālat al-ḥayy*) was set astir. Surely he shall prefer her even to Salma, Layla and Mayy. Flash: Layla walked out amidst the tents and the dwelling places thereby exciting one's longing, and deepening his thirst. Will the flames of love ever be quenched? Where and when shall union with the beloved take place? Idea: Beauty dawned upon the attendant heart. Ah, what a thrill it received by the sight which the sentinel, hitherto, had been hiding!

When we met removed from the sentinel's eye,

I yearned to plead in privacy and secrecy;

When a full moon's light between us rose.

Who ever saw one full moon become a sentinel of another?

THE SIXTH ARTICLE

An Article on Love

Said Allah, the Exalted: "He shall love them and they shall love Him."³⁴ Gift (*naḥḥah*):³⁵ The eye of Providence (*'ayn al-'ināyah*) looked upon a servant who had been previously a recipient of tender mercies from the Benevolent One (*al-ḥannān*); therefore he entered into the presence of gratitude, in peace. Sketch (*lamḥah*): Sketches of the lofty presence glistened with the excellent names;³⁶ pray have

³³ Cf. Fāriḍ T, p. 32, verse 441; and Mass R, p. 134; properly speaking *wiṣāl* = conjunction. It may be noted that *wiṣāl*, *waṣl* and *ittiṣāl* contain the idea of duality and are therefore inferior to *jam'* or complete union and *ittiḥād* or *ḥawās*. See however C. A. Nallino, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, vol. viii, Rome, 1919, p. 60, note 1; Margaret Smith, art. "Suhrawardi," in *The Aryan Path*, vol. ii, no. 10, Bombay, 1931, p. 715.

³⁴ Koran 5: 54.

³⁵ The more common connotation of this term is odour, blast or breath of wind. But the triliteral root *naḥaḥa* has also in classical Arabic the idea of bestowing a favour or making a grant, donation, gift; hence the rendition here adopted.

³⁶ The ninety-nine excellent (or beautiful) names of Allah.

you witnessed that beauty [13b] or have you strayed in ecstasy (*wajd*) among men (*rijāl*)? ³⁷ Gift: The reality of love ³⁸ is fire which consumes the livers, an agony that swells and increases.

In the heart of the lover is a fire of grief

Whose minimum radiance matches the worst heat of hell.

Sketch: You who have looked upon the charm of damsels in their quarters or upon the plains only to be infatuated by the beckoning of those nymphs, behold the splendour of Layla all but manifest. Contemplate it; then surrender yourself to its joy and enchantment. Gift: True love implies that the lover's secret shall remain untold in regard to what it manifests to the lovers of the visions of the unseen.

If ever they disclose the secret, they pay for it with their lives.
Such is the punishment of those who divulge. ³⁹

Sketch: The breeze of the beloved blew to the lover, whereupon he fluttered as with wings of joy and longing. How would it have been, had he seen her beauty through the eyes? Verily, he would have died.

O gentle breeze, rising quietly by night,

Sent to us by the beloved, you have given us cheer.

Relate to us the news about the valley and the homesteads of
Salam,

Tell us of that sacred home you left.

Gift: The reality of love ⁴⁰ is the purification (*khalāṣ*) of the nature of the spirit from all frail goods ⁴¹ and the annihilation (*fanā'*) of self against all fortunes and interests.

³⁷ Sing. *rajul*, a man possessing the qualities of manhood. Probably the term here refers to *rijāl al-ghayb*, "the Men of the Unseen"—exalted saints and angels, of whom six classes are described in Jilāni I. See Ni S, pp. 82 and 124; cf. Jilāni I K, pt. ii, p. 67.

³⁸ *Maḥabbah*; for an assortment of Sufi opinions on "love" consult Mass R, index (under *Maḥabbah*).

³⁹ This couplet is identical with one that is ascribed to abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi, 578/1191. See above, pp. 10-15. The word *bā'iḥīn*, those who divulge a secret, appears in the second hemistich of our text instead of Suhrawardi's *'āshiqīn*, those in excessive love. See ibn-Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 258; De Slane, vol. iv, p. 156.

⁴⁰ Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, v.

⁴¹ *A'rāḍ* pl. of *'arāḍ*, accidental, transient, frail.

These are the Arabs of Najd ever since I came to know them,
All my affiliations with them, of blood and property, ceased.

If you desire to revel in a short contemplation eye to eye, you
should be humble with your beloved at all times and places.⁴²

Humble yourself before your love that you may catch the
opportunity;

Many a man reaches positions of honour through humility.

- Gift: The greatest love is one that settles in the heart immediately
and distorts all one's feelings without giving notice.

Her love came upon me before I knew love's worth,
[14a] It found an empty heart, so in it lived.

Sketch: A lover is one who remains unshaken by the censure of the
sentinel—rather does that augment his love for the beloved.

I love you, O Sun of the Time and O Time's Full-Moon,
Even though I am scorned in this by Ursa Major and the
polar stars.

Gift: True love is an obligatory magnetic force in the opinion of
the Sufi investigators. . . . Sketch: The forwarding (*sawq*) of
yearning sweetens love and taste; hence you notice that bodies follow
the dictates of the spirits.

My yearning never ceases to guide me to you,
Dispelling all my fears and hardships. . . .

Gift: When yearning overpowers the heart of the lover and fires
are ablaze within it, while worries and ordeals close in on him, let
him hear the tales of the Sufis related on the authority of their
doctors (*aḥbār*, sing. *ḥabr* or *ḥibr*).

Of him whom love killed, relate to me the tale.
Verily sorrowing is the spirit of everyone in grief.

Sketch: The spirit of the yearning lover is like a tender bough which
softly swings each time a gentle wind blows by.

The hope of union with her sways me with joy,
How often the wish is sweeter than triumph itself!

⁴² Places and times in Arabic text.

Gift: The lover is always afraid lest he miss the opportunity of union; his condition might be expressed by the words of one who said:

Many a chance you miss which leaves you in sad regret,
You bite the palm and gnash the teeth in bitterness.

Sketch: The lover heard one night the likeness of his beloved's voice while asleep; at which he arose and made haste [14b] to discover that it was only love-sickness (*hiyām*)⁴³ — a victory scored by the imagination which made him say:

Until separation⁴⁴ has rung within one's heart at eventide
Little he knows how livers⁴⁵ are torn to pieces.

Gift: The conditions of those in love⁴⁶ differ; they vary according to feeling and station. A novice becomes sober after intoxication;⁴⁷ he is folded up even while he is exposed—but the desired object (*al-murād*) is more intoxicating each time it passes by, hence the aroma of its delightful fragrance. Verse:

The novices become sober after their intoxication by it (wine),
But those who seek the desired object shall have its lasting
intoxication.

Sketch: When the beauty of the beloved shall appear to the lover in the realm of the unknown, his passion swells and his speech stops except for the expression of complaint against the pain of affliction. Theme (*mufrad*):

Love forbears the tongue to speak,
Yet sweetest are to love its own complaints.

⁴³ Lit., 'passionate love.'

⁴⁴ *Bayn*.

⁴⁵ *Akbād*, sing. *kabd* or *kabid*, used in Arabic for the main part in man's physical constitution, sensible to pain and injury or grief. A mother, thus, refers to her child as *faldhat kabidi*—'a piece of my liver.'

⁴⁶ *Gharām*. Cf. Fāriḍ T, p. 9, no. 98.

⁴⁷ The higher mystical life, before it reaches the perfect oneness which is its goal, swings to and fro between self-effacement (*maḥw*) and self-restoration (*ithbāt*), intoxication (*sukr*) and sobriety (*ṣaḥw*). This ever-changing succession of complementary states ceases upon annihilation (*fanā'*). On *sukr* see Ni S, pp. 243, 248; Fāriḍ D, p. 165 sqq.; al-Sarrāj, p. 340 sqq. where *ṣaḥw* and are nearly synonymous with *ḥuḍūr* and *ghaybah*.

Gift: The lover was present with the beloved at a station where he became intoxicated with the intoxication of desire and wine. Small wonder if he should become absent and his hearing and heart enraptured. . . . Sketch: The lover entered one day the abode of the beloved while the slanderer (*al-wāshi*) and the sentinel (*al-raḡīb*) were unaware; he revelled upon hearing the discourses (*khiṭāb*) in the presence of the loved ones. Theme:

O night of love and happiness at home,
Its joy drove our steeds to dancing gaits in merriment.

Gift: When the lover permits union, his beloved having intimately known contemplation of beauty, that to him becomes permission for discourse. O one who removed the veil for him! Theme:

When I meet my love I whisper in his ⁴⁸ ear
Words which pages can not convey.

[15a] Sketch: Him who does not possess even the value of a particle or grain of love, despondence shall seclude from happiness and he shall be a nobody among men. Verse:

Only those that love and crave are men,
No good is in one who does not love and yearn.

Gift: By God, no one whose heart is filled with love can keep it to himself.

He whose heart resides with another, how can he be well?
And he whose secret is upon his eyelids, how shall he hide?

Sketch: The mere ownership of a station of patience without the faculty for patient suffering for love is despicable. If such a person be punished by desertion he cannot claim to have been oppressively treated.

In all eventualities patience is praiseworthy,
Except with you, it is detestable.

Gift: The heart of the lover shall not cease from doting on the beloved; should it declare the contrary, surely it would be untruthful.

⁴⁸ It is customary in classical Arabic poetry of love to refer to the object of a man's passion in the masculine.

O heart, you promised me that if
 I turn from Layla you would repent;
 Well, I did renounce Layla's love;
 And yet you writhe each time that she is named.

Sketch: He who is not annihilated and dead in his passionate love for the beloved shall not secure an abundant share in union.

Our lover shall not enjoy the life of proximity to us
 Unless he become one of our casualties.

Gift: The distinctive feature of love is that the lover shall execute the commandments of his beloved; he shall also discover the hidden meanings of his past affairs and misfortunes.

You disobey the Lord even while professing his love,
 By my faith I swear 'tis a queer anomaly.
 If but your love were true I should obey it,
 For surely a lover obeys his beloved.

Sketch: The condition of the truthful lover changes and progresses until he comes to be, by its virtue, better than others.

[15b] To my eye you seem increasingly more beautiful;
 Each day I yearn for a phase of you.
 You grow more lovely and I more loving,
 My feeling for you changes ever and ever more.

Gift: The victory of the inward fire has inflamed the passions thus, burning the spirit of the lover which melted and gushed from his eyes and streamed away. Verse:

That which flows out of the eye is not its water,
 Rather is it the melting and dripping spirit.

Sketch: The heart of the lover does not cease from the beloved should the latter turn away. This is the natural order and the contrary is an abnormal course. Verse:

I say to the heart that does not cease
 Ever from its love nor even fails:
 Men had almost ceased to call you heart ⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Arabic *qalb*—heart also means reversal, transposition, change, ceasing from, hence the pun in these lines.

Since you never cease from loving.
 Had I been able I would steer my heart away
 From you but my heart has no wheel.⁵⁰

THE SEVENTH ARTICLE

An Article of Renunciation

Said Allah, the Exalted, "What remains with God is better for you."⁵¹ Enlightenment (*tanwīr*): If you do not renounce the petty goods of this vile world surely you are far from the beneficence of the glorious life to come.⁵² Abstraction (*tajrīd*): The freedom of your heart from hatred for the Master is more worthy and seemly of you, O man of reason. Enlightenment: If there were no evil in this world other than lawful things for which one has to give an account and the unlawful things for which he is to be punished, that should have been enough to warn you, O men of intelligence. Abstraction: Sufis! He who is through with her⁵³ deeds shall not burn in the fire of her conflagration on that [16a] day. Enlightenment: Renunciation, according to the Law, is required in so far as forbidden practices go.⁵⁴ It is, furthermore, approved of⁵⁵ in many of the lawful acts. But in the true legislation of the people of the Path,⁵⁶ it is required in both events. Thus, you should say 'yes,' O obedient one. Abstraction: The disavowal of the world by the servant, the ascetic, the traveller, gives what is greater before Allah than the gems of the desirer, the chaste, the possessor. Enlightenment: The world is like unto a snake, decorative in appearance, smooth to the touch, ugly inwardly and poisonous potentially. Abstraction: Every day the people of the world must depart from it, each breath sees them farther away from it. Yet they are too blind to contemplate and too heedless⁵⁷ to comprehend the meaning. Enlightenment: The

⁵⁰ *Lawlab* lit. pipe, screw or pegs.

⁵¹ Koran 35: 16.

⁵² al-Sarrāj, pp. 46 seq. al-Kalābādhi, fol. 37b.

⁵³ "Her" in this passage refers to *al-dunya*, the world.

⁵⁴ For a rational discussion of renunciation (*zuhd*) see al-Ghazzālī *Ihyā'*, vol. iv, pp. 187-210.

⁵⁵ Text uses *mandūb*.

⁵⁶ *Ahl al-tariqah*.

⁵⁷ "*Fi ghafḥah*" I translated "heedless" whereas Nicholson would use "forgetful." Cf. Ni S, p. 92. Also Jilāni I, pt. ii, p. 25, last line.

world has given you a taste of the pain of suffering while the journey lasts. Therefore, beware of its enmity, O man, for both Day and Night do admonish you. Verse:

If a lover of this world should strip her bare
A foe he would meet in the clothes of a friend.

Abstraction: If you desire to see what subsistence and perfection there are in the world, expose it before the mirror of truth, and you will find it to be like phantasy (*al-khayāl*). When you look upon it, it is present; and if you are absent from it, it vanishes. Thus it is a phantasy in a phantasy from a phantasy.⁵⁸ Enlightenment: The world is a prison and the man of the world is a prisoner. How strange that a prisoner should revel in misery. . . . Abstraction: The abstemious ascetic is relieved from the carrying of burdens. He shall be free from the responsibility of providing for his dependents. Wherever his understanding alights, he shall be happy; his belly is his waterskin and [16b] his bed is his furniture.

He who has seen me has known my home,
Behold I am the home: I came just as I am.

Enlightenment: This world's flower is quick-fading; he who prides himself upon it is lowly, he who is rich through it is poor, and he whose power rests upon it is frail. This world is a means for reaching the next; consider, therefore, that you do not make the means an end in itself. The children of the world are slaves of their lusts, whereas the children of the next world are kings and masters. The life of this world's people is fraught with weariness and pain, whereas the people of the hereafter enjoy peace and bounty. The lords of the world are slaves to hypocrisy and deceitfulness, whereas the brethren of the hereafter are exempted from debased morality. He whose ideal⁵⁹ lies in this world, has a scarab-like soul and breathes nought but decayed matter [of the world]; whereas he whose ideal lies in the next world, his soul is angel-like, and his only solace rests in the breathing of the next world's perfume. Abstraction: This world is only a glimpse (*lamḥah*) of the next; your whole life, even if long, is a twinkling between the two of them. To Allah do I plead concerning a state which is only transitory. Such are my reflections; if

⁵⁸ See Jilāni I, p. 26 where these words appear in a chapter on *al-khayāl*.

⁵⁹ *Man kānat himmatuhu.*

by them I am not forewarned let them be a reminder to you. Enlightenment: The lights of the acts of renunciation illumine the niches where lamps⁶⁰ are suspended in the heart of the ascetic; they multiply and increase more than the acts of the desirer, the one who serves. Abstraction: Abstraction is twofold, the one is revealed to the eyes by its owners, and the other is undisclosed by the outstanding men of vision.⁶¹ Enlightenment: Know that there are two kinds of renunciation, the one concerning this world and the other concerning the next.⁶² The former is for the fortunate ones, the second for the unfortunate. Renunciation in the next world may be the experience of one who has no other desire but to be occupied with Allah to the [17a] exclusion of all else. "Say 'Allah'; then leave them in their vain discussion to play."⁶³ Furthermore, although renunciation might well be of praiseworthy description yet it varies according to the contemplation and those who contemplate. Thus, the renunciation of a novice is concerned with the goods of the world and riches, that of the one who serves concerns that which worries the mind, that of the people of piety concerns the sanctioned lawful acts and selfishness, that of the travellers (sing. *sālik*) concerns what hinders them from fulfilling their religion, that of the people of feelings concerns the feelings of other men, that of the owners of stations concerns what jeopardizes their contemplations, that of the owners of gnostic knowledge concerns what disqualifies their gnosis, that of the outstanding investigators concerns all other than the Truth, glory to Him. To the last group renunciation is the veil itself—a shell with which its owners busy themselves to the exclusion of the substance. This leads to the seeing of other than the Truth (*ru'yat al-ghayr*) in contemplation; that is why they failed to understand the true meaning.

So they said "Be a renouncer" to which I replied
That renunciation is veiling reality behind the phases of
investigation.

For renunciation is otherness⁶⁴ and otherness has no trace
When you look upon it with the eye of loftiness.

⁶⁰ *Mishkāt*.

⁶¹ *Ahl al-baṣṭ'ir al-kibār*.

⁶² Cf. abu-al-'Atāhiyah, *Diwān*, ed. by a Jesuit Father, Beirut, 1887, pp. 1 sqq. Also abu-al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, *Luzūmiyāt*, in Ni P, p. 258.

⁶³ Koran 6: 91.

⁶⁴ The Path of Blame has been trodden by some Sufi shaykhs. Among other

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE

An Article on Poverty

Said Allah, the Exalted, "O ye men, you are they who stand in need of Allah."⁶⁵ Study (*taḥqīq*): The reality of poverty on the external side of the Path is unlike what the internal reality is.⁶⁶ Externally it is the poverty of the ascetics as far as the material values of the world go. Internally it is the poverty of individuals in the values of the hereafter; they are busy with Allah to the exclusion of all else, since they have contemplated and seen. Examination (*tadqīq*): Annihilation (*al-fanā'*) and poverty (*al-faqr*) vied in boasting. The first declared, "Behold I am the attribute of the Great Lord, but who are you, O lowly one!" Then Poverty spoke out, "But for my quality your quality would not have been distinguished and without my humility your prestige would not have been enhanced. I am he whose quality bears the mark of servanthip (*'ubūdīyah*), while you are one whose quality militates against sovereignty (*al-rubūbīyah*); it is needless to state that he who militates is crushed while he who surrenders is saved." Study: The unimaginative one⁶⁷ found the condition of the poor (*al-faqīr*) ambiguous. He claimed that the *faqīr* (poor) is other than the *faqīh* (jurisprudent), little knowing that the letters *hā'* and *rā'* are identical. . . . Examination: The poor, the jurisprudent, is one who lays the heavy burden of journeying at the thresholds of men until he is made to suckle the fresh milk of breasts and enabled to dispense with the dried stuff of dead writing. Take heed, therefore, O one of jurisprudent words, and listen, O one of poor condition. In Allah let your features be annihilated; withdraw from all common knowledge (*ma'lūm*), O one of jurisprudent argument; such is the argument. The verse of the

accusations al-Hujwiri speaks in his chapter entitled al-Malāmāt, i. e., On Blame, of God as "He guards His lovers from glancing aside to others (*ghayr*)."

See al-Hujwiri, p. 62.

⁶⁵ Koran 35: 16.

⁶⁶ Aside from the Koranic reference to 'poverty' just quoted, the saying—*al-faqr fakhri*—poverty is my pride—is ascribed to Muḥammad. See D. B. Macdonald, art. "Faḳīr," in EI. For more light on this subject the reader may be referred to: al-Ghazzālī *Iḥyā'*, vol. iv, pp. 164-187; Jilāni F, pp. 69-81; al-Qushayri, pp. 159-164.

⁶⁷ *Ghayr al-nabih*.

mirage.⁶⁸ Enter the wine-shop of our loved ones which will make you one of our doctors and pour you fresh drink to sip, after the dusty deserts of the mirage, O one of jurisprudent traditions and reasoning mind. For lo, the curtain of your intellectual "I-ness" has secreted from you the light of revelation and the sight of traditional science has altered the flavour of your taste. O one of nominal but not virtual jurisprudence, wrongly have the two names been identified. For had you understood the meaning of the poor and the jurisprudent, you would [18a] have been clever and imaginative. The jurisprudent one is he who is endowed with penetrating vision concerning his Lord; in Him he is annihilated to the exclusion of others. If this be your quality then indeed you are the man of poverty (*al-faqīr*) and before Allah the truly jurisprudent. Examination: Some Sufis gave preference to riches over poverty while others held a view to the contrary. The truth is that wealth in human goods does not free them (the men) from their need for the attributes of essence. Study: He who claims riches falls into distress, in contradistinction to one who demonstrates poverty and thus saves himself. Examination: The poor one is he who has the quality of true neediness (*iftiqār*), willfully and out of free choice, not out of necessity that places him in the position of compulsion. Study: He who boastfully uses the quality of riches over the poor shall be worthy of a reversed judgment from the All-Powerful. Theme:

Do you not see that verily in poverty there is hope for
enrichment,

While the rich are always in danger of poverty?

Examination: The mark of poverty is that of brotherhood, its ornament is that of the home-coming servant. He who has no name shall be more lofty; the faces of his people shall meet him with a welcome and upon them shall be seen God's supplication.

Such are faces on which there is the sign of acceptance,
Not all faces bear this welcome.

⁶⁸ The author here cites this so-called verse of the Mirage, Koran 24: 39 which reads: "And as for those who disbelieve, their deeds are like the mirage in a desert, which the thirsty man deems to be water; until when he comes to it he finds it to be naught. . . ." Of this there is a paraphrase on the margin in the same hand thus: Verse: "O one who is like a mirage, you think him to be something while he is nothing."

Study: One who lords it over the poor with the wealth of his treasures or vies with them in the beauty of his pottery, Allah shall humiliate, and he shall become needy; he shall be returned to ugliness and shall crumble to pieces.

Boast not of what bounties have been given you
Over others, but fear the crushing of the Mighty.
In origin much like pottery you were made,
How quick to break is pottery in this world!

Examination: The meaningful gems of Time are too costly to be squandered in raving. My God! How strange the one whose life-time runs out while he hoards gold. Poor he is with all he has amassed. He has no supporter of any consequence.

He who spends his hours making a fortune,
In fear of poverty, that which he does is poverty indeed.⁶⁹

Study: He who is poor in relation to God shall be made rich through Him. But he who feels too rich to call on Him shall be in need of everything; and he who needs everything shall be forsaken by all and nothing can serve him instead of God. Verse:

Whatever you forsake can be replaced,
Except Allah for whom there is no substitute if you forsake.

Examination: The magnetic ⁷⁰ property of the poverty of essence is the attraction for gifts and grants; therefore, he whose quality of poverty is greatest shall have a more abundant and larger share.

Study: The specialization of poor folk in begging (*su'āl*) is peculiar to them at the present and future times; this is recognized by him who has discovered the fruit of supplication and whose needs and aspirations have been achieved for him. Examination: The assumption of positive and absolute richness (*ghina*) by the Lord, to Whom be glory, is precisely what decrees rank poverty for us. Through the assumption of this attribute is loving-kindness achieved; for it is out of the mercy of the rich that He favours the poor with bounties; thus does the great set the broken bones of the small. Study: No

⁶⁹ al-Mutanabbi, p. 159.

⁷⁰ Ar. *maghnāʾis* fr. Gr. *magnētis*, used, probably for the first time, by abu-'Abdullah Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf al-Khwārizmī, fl. ca. 976, in his *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden, 1895, pp. 262-3.

poor man ever sought the door of the Rich, the Glorious, to be met with disappointment, or asked Him for refuge to find the door closed.

At your supreme portal I stretched my supplicating hand;
He who comes to this door has no rejection to fear.

THE NINTH ARTICLE

An Article on Hypocrisy

[19a] Said Allah, the Exalted, "Therefore, whoever hopes to meet his Lord, he should do good deeds, and not associate anyone in the service of his Lord."⁷¹ Study: Sincerity in work for Allah while fulfilling what Allah prescribes is the outcome of annihilation in Allah on the carpet (*bisāṭ*)⁷² of subsistence in Allah. Adornment (*tazwīq*): The existence of association in work for other than Allah issues from the heart's glorification of other than Allah. Had it visualized the greatness of Allah it would not have delighted in working for other than Allah. Study: The polytheism⁷³ of hypocrisy (*al-riyā'*)⁷⁴ creeps like ants on any man unless God protect him with His peace. Adornment: He whose hypocrisy takes the form of outward works is adorned, but his lack of loyalty is surely a hindrance to him. Study: The ornament of hypocrisy is the ornament of the despised ones while the quality of sincerity is the quality of the substitutes (*al-abdāl*).⁷⁵ Adornment: The retribution of the hypocrite is exposed and scandalous even though his beginning be irreproachable and commendable. Study: Sometimes hypocrisy and sincerity intermingle but rarely does salvation ensue. Adornment: The fountains of hypocrisy are sweet to the spirits; yet sweeter is the manifestation of the quality of the Holy One. Study: The mark of the hypocrite, the liar, is his self-exoneration from sins among men. Adornment: Know that he who goes about crestfallen among men, always seeking the ways of entreaty and the lowering of the head, while he throws

⁷¹ Koran 18: 110.

⁷² For the earliest occurrence of the form *bisāṭ* consult Mass L T, p. 11.

⁷³ *Shirk*.

⁷⁴ A detailed study of *riyā'*, hypocrisy, in Moslem Sufism and theology, is given by al-Ghazzālī in his *Iḥyā'*. See, therefore, the passages in *Iḥyā'*, vol. iii, pp. 253 sqq. The reference to hypocrisy as 'creeping like ants' occurs in *ibid.*, p. 261.

⁷⁵ On the hierarchy of Sufi saints see R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1914, pp. 123 sqq.

discredit upon all good men, never accepting the advice of a counsellor, truly he is a hypocrite, an impostor, who has not breathed the incense of man's sincerity.

Most felonious in spirit is he who would seek
To prove his worth by showing the defects of the truly
virtuous men;
No one has better vindicated his own virtue
Than by thinking well of every man of esteem.

[19b] Study: Only a few followers of the Path successfully escape from hypocrisy. Adornment: The feelings of the hypocrite evoke contempt in the eye of the observer. Study: The hypocrite is a claimant who has not acquired the realities of piety. When he intends to embark upon his career the little children will make fun of him. Adornment: Among the Sufis the hypocrite is likened unto a liar whose designs are understood; each time he tries to cover himself by his words men will find him out and declare his falsehood, marking him as a braggart, exposing him and subjecting him to ridicule.

Whatso be the characteristic that a man is born withal,
Though he thinks it lies hid from men, it shall surely one
day be known.⁷⁶

Study: Hypocrisy is akin to pride and self-exaltation; by Allah, few are safe from these defects in view of the imperfection of humanity and the scarcity of freedom. Adornment: In this age the commoners have beautified their exterior and pretended poverty; then they cast the net of their fraud in order to deceive women and princes. If that be their share from Allah, great will be their disgrace from Allah, O Allah.

Poverty ascended pleading God for aid;
It complained saying, "Some men have been oppressing me;
They make pretense of me, while by thy truth,
I know them not nor do they know me."

The one that you see, in your life, engaged in self-defense and argument, deviating all the while from righteousness to crookedness, let

⁷⁶ This is a couplet from the pre-Islamic Ode (*Mu'allaqah*) of Zuhayr ibn-abi-Sulma. See al-Zūzūnī, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Mu'allaqāt*, Cairo, 1925, p. 90, l. 3; cf. Charles James Lyall, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, New York, 1930, p. 115, ll. 3 and 4.

him alone to pursue his own course of treachery and degeneration which only appeals to the degenerate in spirit. Similarly have the authorities of jurisprudence (*al-fuqahā'*) aimed at the embellishment of words, which they bombastically drew out with rhetoric and [20a] artistic style that excites the fancy and delights the ear. But the critic sees the inner purposes and knows the hidden consciences.

Your word and deed are exhibited before one
 Who can distinguish your earnestness from your pleasantry.
 Accept not the word in place of the deed,
 For only the unfortunate one pursues this plan.

Study: The true scholar is one who travels in the Path and performs good deeds through his learning, being of infinite usefulness. Such is the one who gathers the fruit of his labours before death and shall not regret the passing away of his days. Adornment: He who seeks learning for hypocritical aims and in order to face with it men of prestige, Allah shall harden the hearts against him and deprive him of all his desires. Study: Learning is life; ignorance is death. Do you not behold that a scholar is much remembered after death while the ignorant one so long as his life endures lives as though he were one of the dead?

Death before physical death is the lot of the ignorant,
 Their bodies are graves before they see the graves.
 Verily one is dead if he lives not by learning,
 For him there is no resurrection in the hereafter.⁷⁷

Adornment: A scholar is not satisfied with words short of the examination of feeling. Such a one would be the worthless fellow in the eyes of the heroes. Study: Learning is a light; if you see one who is in darkness and yet claims it, give him no credence lest you be associated with him in the darkness of his night. Adornment: He who sweetens the words of his tongue while he persists in the corruption of his heart, Truth shall disclose his profligacy and relegate to oblivion the sweetness which he professes. Study: Utterly vain is the impeccable syntax of language as long as the heart speaks with a foreign accent. Conversely, the eloquence [20b] of essence (*al-dhāt*) cannot be equalled by the syntax of words. Do you not see that God

⁷⁷ These lines are ascribed to abu-al-Ḥasan al-Māwardi (d. 450/1058). Cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1911, vol. v, p. 408.

(*al-ḥaqq* lit., Truth), the Exalted, gave preference to Moses, praise and peace on him, over his brother, because of the eloquence of his essence; nevertheless Aaron was more eloquent in his linguistic faculties.⁷⁸ Verily, Allah is all-knowing as to where He should place His messages.

The secret of eloquence resides in its native place,
It belongs to the qualities of the spirits, not to those of the
tongues.

Adornment: O one who speaks to impress and express thoughts without deviation, making distinction among his foes, who speaks without uttering words, whose statements to his sweethearts, at festivities, are couched in the attitude of extolling the majesty of God in place of accepting infamous traits; one who brings out the meaning and throws light on the place of abode; when he writes, causes others to write,—remarkable is this creed, the true creed; he who possesses it annihilates himself. Is Paradise (*al-jinān*) for one who reforms the heart or for one who uses syntactical subtleties in his self-expression, such as the forms 'By Allah' and 'Through Allah?' Verily, the pious doctors who urged us with their fair judgment and stirred our longings for the attributes, have stated that he who is foreign in accent and is more pious, is more pleasing to Allah; while he who uses good Arabic syntax but thinks much of himself, shall not be great before Allah.

An eloquent tongue expressing itself in good Arabic!
Yet I wish that that could save only on the day of judgment!
Pure Arabic rhetoric without piety is false
Nor is a man of piety disqualified by mere foreign accent.⁷⁹

Study: Whoever wishes to exterminate the roots of hypocrisy should not appear before mirrors; let him, furthermore, preserve his sanctity by living in modest obscurity.⁸⁰

Obscurity is not disgraceful to the man of perfection.
For the 'Night of Power' ⁸¹ is concealed while of all nights
'tis the best.

⁷⁸ Koran 28: 34-35, 20: 30-40, 90-95. ⁷⁹ Cf. *al-Shaṭṭanawfi*, p. 103.

⁸⁰ *Al-khumūl*, rendered 'obscurity,' is a greatly beloved trait as far as our author's philosophy of life goes. Cf. *al-Ghazzālī Ihya'*, vol. iii, p. 239.

⁸¹ Koran, sura 97.

Adornment: He who is hypocritical in his dealings with men is fallen into hardship, particularly if he seeks a high position that will bring him disaster. Verse:

To my courage obscurity is acceptable,
Whereas elated ranks are not desirable;
While not denying the flavour of glory's taste,
My courage yet seeks real spiritual vigor.

Study: The good life is one of obscurity and the abandonment of officiousness, by Allah. Verse:

Live in obscurity among men and be satisfied,
For that is safer in the world and in religion.
The religion of one who associates with men is not intact;
He is ever subject to disturbance and perplexity.

Adornment: The seeker of popularity among men is a man of hypocrisy, poverty and bankruptcy; he shall not please them unless he incur the wrath of his Master. Should he befriend them, it would only be serving his own ends. Study: If you wish safety for your deeds withdraw to the solitude of men and reveal to yourself the joys of loneliness;⁸² what a merriment and what a joy! Amuse yourself there by communion with the first-born of thoughts (*abkār al-afkār*) whose originality has not suffered any rents in the patches.

I was wont to feel desolate when alone,
But now I revel in loneliness.
Solitude has become a solace to me,
Loneliness, too, a precious company.

Adornment: It is characteristic of the spirit to adore the decoration of the exterior in all phenomena; this is a curtain that closes to the heart all perusal of the unknown. Study: The difference between solitude and loneliness [21b] is that solitude applies to the bodies while loneliness strikes the heart with the realities of meanings. To some Sufis it is *vice versa*, but that should cause no confusion. Know, however, that he who experiences no loneliness shall enjoy no dignity (*jalwah*) among the Sufis. Under the pillow of the great imām, the

⁸² 'Solitude' and 'loneliness' we use in a rather arbitrary style for '*uslah* and *khalwah* respectively. On the general subject of the former see al-Ghazzālī *Iḥyā'*, vol. ii, pp. 197 sqq.

Authority of Islam (*Hujjat al-Islām*),⁸³ were discovered these lines:

When I was free, dissension ruled me,
 But when I became a slave, dissension served me;
 Thus did I take refuge in solitude
 Against all kinds of evil men.
 No good comes from the interrelation of men
 Nor is the ignorant person like unto the knower.
 You who chide me for departing from men, little you see
 My pretext, inscribed on the top of my seal.

Looking at the inscription on his seal the following could be read: "And We did not find in most of them any faithfulness to covenant, and We found most of them to be certainly transgressors."⁸⁴ Adornment: Some men surrender themselves to loneliness while their hearts remain with the world. Such are prisoners to their loneliness and dwell unpurified, as yet, from the lusts of self. Study: The seeker of loneliness is one who rids his heart from all growth except that of the Lord. Even while in form he appears with other human forms, in heart, however, he shall ever be 'present yet absent.' Adornment: He who withdraws that men may say, 'He withdrew,' shall be different from the people of truth and a seceder. The point is not that you confine yourself to barren deserts; the real point is that you become imbued with the manners of the innocent. He who has not been through the pains of stern discipline so that he is a truly "Stoic" product of "Spartan" life,⁸⁵ shall be a dissenter as far as his solitude goes; he will fall into error and false [22a] pretense. Adornment: Often does it come to pass that fools imitate other worthy men in some feelings. How far indeed! What a gap between 'feelings' and 'affectation!' Verse:

She of the black eyes and lashes said to us:
 "Applying antimony to the eyes is not like having eyes of
 genuine darkness."

Study: With the experience of distressing fear and sleepless yearn-

⁸³ Abu-Hāmid Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'i al-Ghazzālī, A. D. 1058-1111.

⁸⁴ Koran 7: 100.

⁸⁵ The words "Stoic" and "Spartan" are not in the text; the picture from Greek philosophy has been borrowed as an equivalent to what, otherwise, is a purely Arabic expression.

ing come the forebodings of sincerity that usher one from hypocrisy to salvation. He who is given the station of fear should rejoice in his security from the enemy, Satan. But he who has been given the station of hope with righteousness and refuge-seeking should mingle that beauty with majesty, that he may truly conceive the horizons of perfection. Adornment: Him who claims that station of beauty, not having been disciplined by the manner of majesty, you should cast aside, for verily he is an impostor who has no significance among men.

THE TENTH ARTICLE

An Article on Gnosis

Said Allah, the Exalted, "And when they hear what has been revealed to the Messenger, you will see their eyes overflowing with tears on account of the truth that they recognize."⁸⁶ Contemplation (*mashhad*): The reality of gnosis is a revelation (*inkishāf*) which requires the removal of the lid from the surface of whatever is concealed and covered. This shall take place in accordance with each presence (*ḥadrah*) and attendance (*muthūl*), or readiness and receptivity. Contemplation: The gnosis of the One is a unique experience of seclusion (*al-infrād*); eligibility for it is peculiar to a few individuals.

Paths are numerous but the Path of Truth is one;
Yet the travellers on the Path of Truth are but a few.

Contemplation: The vision of the presence of gnostic knowledge militates against the vision of otherness (*al-ghayr*) in the world. The spirit of such a life is to have conviviality with the beloved while the watcher (*al-raqīb*) is absent. Verse:

My life you are to whom I make my complaints of grief;
In the darkness of the night you are my moon and night
discourser.

If I speak, I only speak of you;
If I be still, you are the centre of my thoughts.

Evidence (*shāhid*): The guide of the gnostic's conscience is the arrival of gnostic knowledge which cheers him as do the words or

⁸⁶ Koran 5: 86.

picture of his beloved in the presence of union and contemplation.
Verse:

I lean towards my interlocutor to let him see
How I lend my mind to what he says.
I might drift away from the conversation, but
What is from you, that is my only task.⁸⁷

Contemplation: Signs of proximity (*qurb*) and approach (*tadāni*) appeared on a servant plodding through the hardships of meanings, the more so when they dawned on his gaze in the garb of beauty; to him they brought tidings of the proximity of union. Verse:

Your beauty brings me tidings of being near to you;
I crave for peace and realization of my desires.
Every limb in me feels bliss;
Every utterance brings me many meanings.

Contemplation: When the gnostic attended at the occasion of the 'presence,' clouds and curtains were raised for him. For even though his beloved at some times is hidden out of sight, she is before his view in the heart.

What if you be removed from the view of my physical eye?
Still are you manifested to me in every part of my heart. . . .

Contemplation: The perfume of the gay orchard blew to a gnostic in longing for union (*wiṣāl*), it caused the trees of his gnostic fruits to wave, and he sang:

[23a] The winds of union with them blew at daybreak,
With gusts of yearning in the heart.
The branch of love merrily shook in me,
When fruits of love fell here and there.
Suns of union with penetrating rays
Pierced the awnings of the veils.
Clear joy shone over us, and thus sparkled
The face of compassion which dispelled all blame,
Thus I came to consider all I behold
Aught if not my own beloved.

Such is the feeling of one whose life is happy and whose estrangement

⁸⁷ Cf. Aghāni, ii, p. 7.

from the beloved is ended—one who is attendant at the “presences” of loyalty in the company of proximity and the chosen. Contemplation: The people of gnosis have a profound fondness for the beloved; they have sighs that would cause the heart to melt, without which the fire of longing would consume them. They have a flame of reminiscent passion (*wajd*) the tears of which protect them from drowning.

But for the tears and suffering of lovers,
Need for water and fire among men would have been great;
All fire takes its spark from their sighs,
All water flows from their tears.

Contemplation: The man of gnosis was drowned (*istaghraqa*) and thus became unconscious of existence; he was annihilated through the object of contemplation (*al-mashhūd*) away from contemplation itself.

My existence, when I lose consciousness of the universe,
Consists of whatever contemplation is revealed in me.

Contemplation: The cup of taste became sweet and fresh to the mouth of the drinking one, thus growing more sweet and cheery; it swelled and overflowed to the sipping of kings who rule the presence of approach (*ḥaḍrat al-tadāni*) and maniacs intoxicated with the wine of meaning. O Allah, [23b] what music was played for their hearing at the tavern (*al-ḥān*)! Then the camel-singer chanted touchingly and sent them to the joy of intoxication:

From pitchers, like showers, the liquid filled the cup,
Thus pearls were grown in a soil of gold,
At which men marvelled and praised God:
'Why a light springs from water in the fire of the grapes!'
Such is the drink handed to 'Ād by Iram,⁸⁸
The treasured drink of Kisra⁸⁹ bequeathed by father to son.

Contemplation: The gnostic became absent from consciousness

⁸⁸ See Koran 89: 5, 6. These are two ancient Arabian tribes referred to frequently in the Koran and in Arabic literature. See articles “‘Ād” and “Iram dhāt al-‘Imād” in E I for bibliography.

⁸⁹ The Arabic form of the name of two Persian kings of the Sāsānid dynasty. It has become a general term applied to all Persian kings of antiquity, pl. *akāsirah*.

through the wine of his love, whereupon the light of his beloved's face was manifested to him like unto the sun. Intoxication, then, endured and the wine vessel (*al-dinān*) overflowed. The cups of love were passed around, bringing their contents of gnostical vision (*al-'irfān*).

Consistently he drank the wine while it caused his mind
to soak

In madness that gave way to the passing of his spirit.

At last he fell upon his right hand, subdued

With drunkenness, and surrendered his spirit to wine.

Evidence: When the gnostic is tested with desertion (*hijrān*) he conducts himself in keeping with manners (*adab*) and concealment (*kitmān*); in case he eulogize his beloved and lament her, it shall not be said that he divulged.

Forenoon Sun of brilliant forehead!

The hours of your pleasure are filled with happiness.

No matter what you do to your lovers

Not even despondent death can make them divulge.

Contemplation: The lights of the glamorous 'presence' were so manifested that the gnostic was overjoyed when he there recognized the green hue; he marvelled at the vision of her beauteous face in all her variations and feelings.

Exceedingly lovely, she became 'face' on all sides.

Facing you she stands, whether she be coming or going.

[24a] Contemplation: The presence of the contemplation of charity (*ihsān*) accepts only perfection—without adulteration. For it is revealed to the lords of the soul, brains and spirits.

Nothing therein can be referred to

As having just been perfected;

Each phase of its splendour

Has its own form of proverbial perfection.

Contemplation: The manifestation of unveiling the eyes is that which pushes back the frontier of gnostic knowledge. This is the presence of the transformation of the eyes. Do you not behold how the gnostic beheld this with all his faculties (*bi-kullīyatihi*)? Has he not heard

at the season of loving converse (*waqt al-munājāt*) with his entire I-ness (*anīyatihi*) ? ⁹⁰ Verse:

When Layla appears, I become all eyes;
Should she commune with me, I shall be all ears.

Evidence: A gnostic is one who achieves perfection and thereby acquires 'feeling' and 'speech.'

'Feeling' and 'speech' bear evidence that he
Has secured perfection in all its splendid significance.

Contemplation: The mysteries of the universe are manifested to the gnostic who understands their signs and can read the significance of their lines.

Meditate on the lines of the universe for verily they are
Messages sent to you from the King on High.

Contemplation: A gnostic is not one who rejects all Paths other than his own, thereby contemplating only his 'travel' and 'examination.' The genuine traveller surely travels along all the 'roads,' (*masālik*).
Verse:

Our gestures differ, but your beauty is one;
Everything points to that Beauty, indeed.

[24b] Contemplation: A gnostic comes for water to the sea, not to the rivulets; he demonstrates the realities and arts of gnosis,

Every meaning of which the dead almost understand;
Worshipped is it by paper and pen also.

Contemplation: The gnostic, in spite of his splendour, humbles himself with the people of his vicinity (*al-ḥayy*); he honours whosoever pays homage to Layla and Mayy.

For Layla's sake I became her people's slave,
Honouring them, the servant, infant and adult;

⁹⁰ This *anīyah* is a stage of manifestation. The preliminary state of essence apart from all qualities and relations is "the dark mist"—*al-'ama*. As consciousness is developed, three stages of manifestation are traversed. The first stage is One-ness, *aḥadiyah*, the second is He-ness, *huwīyah*, and the third is I-ness, *anīyah*. On the last term consult Jilāni I, pt. i, pp. 59, 60; Ni S, p. 83, 84.

The one I encounter in the street, I love;
To him I hereafter become a sincere brother.

Contemplation: A gnostic is like Majnūn Layla.⁹¹ He yearns for her by day and night. If he yearn, it is for her; if he cry, it is for her.

If these tears of deep affection are shed
For other than Layla, surely they are wasted.

Contemplation: An honest man's knowledge of secrets prevents him from acquainting others with their contents; such is the habit of spiritual stewards (*al-kibār*).

Him who inquires from me about Layla I send away,
With vagaries concerning her of little worth.
They say 'Tell of her, for you are her guardian';
But should I do so, I should cease to be honest to her.

Contemplation: Moons shone to the free; thus the goodly folk reported the news to other goodly folk. At this the wicked scoffed, and they were entrenched in the hell of skepticism (*inkār*).

If you be an uncouth fellow in the profession,
And should meet an expert, be not a braggart.
Similarly, if the crescent you have not seen,
Accept the verdict of those who laid eyes upon it.

Contemplation: A gnostic grows in importance even while he lives; after his death he gains reputation among men.

Some people die only to be remembered for their learning,
While the ignorant, as they die, join those who went before.

[25a] Contemplation: As the gnostic rejoiced in the blessings of mystic knowledge, his sleeve-cuffs yielded perfume which spread throughout the world.

If you have a rheum, it is not seemly
To say that musk is not in the air.

⁹¹ This is the hero of countless Persian and Turkish romances. His passion for the lovely Layla had crazed his brain and his adventures served to embroider the canvas of many a Sufi poem. Majnūn's real name was Qays ibn-al-Mulawwah. He was the so-called madman of the banu-'Āmir. Majnūn Layla belongs to the Umayyad period and is said to have died in A. H. 70/A. D. 689. A collection of *akhbār* occurs under his names in Aghāni, i, 167-ii, 17.

Contemplation: A breeze carrying the incense of lovers' wine blew past; to it was guided the truthful breathing-devotee (*al-nāshiq*) among the travellers.

But for her perfume I would not have found her tavern,
And without her glory imagination could not have portrayed
her.

Contemplation: The gnostic attended the presence of union; he uncovered the beauteous form, whereupon wine-bibbing intensified his flaming giddiness as the nights and days went by.

You who make me thirst for a union to be bestowed,
Have you no mercy when I cry for a drink?

Evidence: Gnosis requires perplexity and anxiety; with these two, decide who is a liar and who, the truthful. Moreover, upon him (i. e. the gnostic) shall appear signs of affliction; proximity shall seem like remoteness, notwithstanding the rest of his experience already accomplished.

O one whose alienation alienates my very patience,
That my heart vanishes in this heated ordeal,
Hurry to the aid of the last gasp of a soul that dwindled
for you,
Ere death arrive; verily this is the last breath.

Contemplation: The light of gnosis is the guide; upon its bearer do the Sufis depend. He who deviates from it, goes astray, but he who is enlightened by it, is guided. Verse:

He whose walking is not behind the guide,
Shall be perplexed by the manifold paths of imagination.

Contemplation: When a gnostic offers his thanks, he acknowledges his shortcomings before the One Thanked (*al-mashkūr*); others, on the contrary, would indulge in the habit of self-conceit.

When shall I thank you for all your bounties?

[25b] Praises of you should be as strong as words ever expressed.

Contemplation: The gnostic honours the Will of the Doer; he accomplishes that which he wants and is always vigorous in dealing with himself. He strives for judicious judgment and fears ill-fate.

I wonder where, how and when
Shall it be known what unquestionably will happen !

Evidence: A gnostic who stands by his stately station shall incur no change, for verily he is like gold.

You who ask me about it, 'tis gold ;
We found it never to grow rusty, even though Time grows old.

Contemplation: When you hear about the qualities of a gnostic, you long to see him ; when you meet him, you love, honour and appreciate him. His acquaintance makes all description inadequate, considering his great position and privileged rank.

From travellers' tales I well had learnt
A goodly share about your traits and highness.
But when we met, I swore by Allah great,
My ear ne'er heard better than what my eye did see.

Contemplation: The higher the station of a gnostic, the smaller he appears to the eyes of the commoners (*al-'awāmm*),

Like a star which eyes think infinitely small,
The defect of smallness being in the eye, not in the star.

Contemplation: The voice of inspiration (*waḥy*) revealed to us in a 'presence' during which illusions (*al-awḥām*) were absent ; said the messenger of the 'presence': Know, O ye people of experience (*khibrah*), that God (*al-ḥaqq*), glory to Him, concealed His life (*nashr*) in the way that He exhibited it ; He purified it even by what He mixed with it. Is it not clear to you how even Fire was utilized to produce useful comforts and light-giving illumination in contradistinction to the darkness of [26a] smoke and the agony of burning ? Accordingly, a gnostic shall distinguish the realities of His wisdom (*al-ḥikam*), seeing the splendour of light in darkness. Through the victory of his own light and the fascination of its brilliance, Fire shall scorch him not in the presence of the sultan of lights ; if accidentally he stumbles on her (i. e., Fire), she will say to him, ' Pass on, for your light has extinguished my flames.' ⁹² He who is strong

⁹² Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, iv, 5.

enough to lift this veil, shall upon doing so comprehend what happens to the interlocutor (*al-kalīm*)⁹³ at the time of discoursing.

A tiny gesture suffices as a hint to the intelligent,
While another must hear a loud voice.

Evidence: The chosen gnostic is not one with whom commoners share in knowledge. They reckon not his secrets. His lights appear not to the vision. He is folded, even when he spreads out and vanishes while light dawns.

I hid myself from Time behind his wing
So that my eye sees Time while he sees me not.
Ask the days of me, they know me not;
Of my whereabouts they know not either.

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE

An Article on Annihilation

Said Allah, the Exalted, "Every one on it must be annihilated."⁹⁴ Aim (*manẓaʿ*): The reality of annihilation is passing away, even extinction, vanishing and decline.⁹⁵ If you wish, you may say that the annihilation of the novice (*al-murīd*) is the purification of self from defilement, while the annihilation of the desired object (*al-murād*) signifies the adoption by it of the attributes of sanctification. You may also say that the annihilation of the traveller means his divorce from dependence on lights (*al-anwār*), while that of the gnostic means his divorce from the contemplation of the glance of others (*aghyār*). In other words, you may say that annihilation is the passing of I-ness (*al-anīyah*) and the eradication of rudiments (*al-baqīyah*).⁹⁶ Lastly, you may say [26b] that annihilation is complete

⁹³ *Al-Kalīm* or *Kalīm Allah* is an epithet especially associated with Moses.

⁹⁴ Koran 55: 26.

⁹⁵ On the subject of annihilation, *fanāʿ*, a mine of information is provided in Mass H, see Index. For the earliest notions on *fanāʿ* reference may be made to abu-al-Hudhayl, better known as al-ʿAllāf, who taught that everything is bound for destruction, creatures, Paradise and Hell; abu-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq Bayn al-Firaq*, ed. Philip K. Hitti, Cairo, 1924, p. 101. This doctrine is mentioned on the epitaph of Dhu-al-Nūn al-Misri, d. 243/859, pub. by *Bull. Instit. fr. archeol. Or.*, Cairo, t. ix, pp. 13, 14; it was later adopted by ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, d. 561/1166. See al-Shaṭṭanawfi, p. 79.

⁹⁶ Cf. Mass H, tome ii, p. 525.

consecration to the light of manifestation. Way (*mashra'*):⁹⁷ Annihilation for the commoners of the Path (*'wāmm al-ṭarīq*) consists in loving the people of investigation (*taḥqīq*); if they receive the right care, it will put them on the roads of guidance (*hidāyah*). Aim: The annihilation of the lover consists in loving the beloved; that of the beloved in union, while the watcher is absent. Way: A company of Sufis once passed by some of the Paths of annihilation, yet they did not acquire what they desired; rather were they deprived of guidance, since they did not truly seek it. Aim: The people of wilful righteousness shall be annihilated in His will, with polite regard to the saying of Him, the Exalted One, "And Allah has created you and what you make."⁹⁸ As for the people of the "Bench" (the Sufis) their annihilation is in the fold of attributes (*ḥaṣīrat al-ṣifāt*)—which is more glorious for them as established by the saying of Him, the Exalted One, "And you did not smite when you smote [the enemy], but it was Allah who smote."⁹⁹ Way: The annihilation of the novice consists in the contemplation of unity (*al-tawḥīd*), and the annihilation of the desired object (*al-murād*) is by renouncing the desired object. The annihilation of the gnostic is by the contemplation of simplicity (*al-aḥadiyyah*) in the presence of believers in one-ness. Annihilation of the individual is by the manifestation of the One through absence (*ghaybah*) from every one. Aim: The universe of sense contemplation is the scope of solar passage; when its sun is clear at the time of setting it shall annihilate all shadows that exist. Take care, therefore, to maintain the clearness of your sun through the departure of the shadow of your sensual cloud. Verse:

Once a shadow was cast on me,
But it flitted away when my sun was clear.
Thus I came to live truly with the beloved
After a mere state of shadows.

Way: What the repentant annihilates is perils; what the traveller annihilates is habits; what travel [27a] annihilates is highway robbers; what the gnostic annihilates is places of rising; what the 'one who experiences union' (*al-wāṣil*) annihilates is the worlds; what the 'gnostic who experiences union' (*al-'ārif al-wāṣil*) annihilates is everything except the 'Presence of Charity' (*ḥaḍrat al-iḥsān*). Aim: When annihilation conquers through the contemplation of manifesta-

⁹⁷ Lit., way to water.⁹⁸ Koran 37: 94.⁹⁹ Koran 8: 17.

tion, while the renunciation of all is genuine, the whole universe shall seem only like a shadow in the presence of such a vision (*mithāl*).

Verily the universe is shadowy, yet 'tis really Truth;
Whoever thus contemplates possesses the merits of the Path.

Way: The annihilation of annihilation is higher than subsistence (*al-baqā'*),¹⁰⁰ because it is an underground passage to subsistence in the belief of pious folk. Beware therefore of standing still at the beginning of annihilation lest you fall into error and pretense, thereby disagreeing with the people of culture and piety. Consider the experience of al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥallāj¹⁰¹ who was satisfied as he stood at the overtures of annihilation; how he fell into affliction when he said, "Behold I am He!" Among his fairest (*aysar*) sayings are those with which he described some of his feelings:

I wondered about you and me,
How with you, you annihilated me from me;
You made me vanish in you until
I thought "verily you are I."
O my pleasure in life
And my rest after burial!
Without you I have no merriment,
You are my shield and defender!

When he said, 'I thought you are I,' he had experienced the sentiments of manners about the annihilation of annihilation; yet the fullness of this meaning he did not attain, for had he done so, he would have escaped from the human failing and would have put on the manners of perfect culture before sovereignty. Aim: The truly annihilated among the investigators (*al-muḥaqqiqūn*) is one who realizes his existence both in the 'absence' and the 'presence'; he shall know it even though he see it not in the dark annihilation of that abyss. Do you not see that he, upon whom the sun has risen and thus causes his

¹⁰⁰ The first Sufi to reject the traditional interpretation of *fanā'* and subject it to opposition with *baqā'* was Junayd al-Khazzāz, d. 298/911 in Baghdad. Among his pupils is the famed al-Ḥallāj. For notes on his life see Mass H, tome i, pp. 33-38.

¹⁰¹ Al-Ḥallāj, lit. means the 'carder.' His full name is abu-al-Mughith al-Ḥusayn ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad al-Bayḍāwī al-Ḥallāj, born 244/858 and executed in Baghdād 309/922. See Mass H; al-Ḥallāj, *Kitāb al-Ṭawaṣṣin*, ed. Louis Massignon, Paris, 1913; Mass L T, pp. 1-9 in texts; Mass R, pp. 57-70.

sight to contemplate it, surely does not deny the endurance of the light of stars even though he can not [27b] see them. In like manner when contemplation of the light of Truth has conquered the annihilated one, he would realize his own existence and the existence of creatures. Such is the conduct of the perfect among the prophets and pious dignitaries. Way: Many a Sufi utters the word "I" concerning annihilation, while concerning subsistence the Sufis would say "you" (*anta*). To this one replied: "O man of annihilation, you have committed no falsehood in the first instance, but in the latter you spoke better." Aim: Through the station of annihilation would one achieve his purpose. Whatever comes successively certainly draws near and is over-shadowed by majesty in the majestic station.

The more he crushes me, the more I praise his deed,
Like musk which sends its perfume as you rub it in the palm.

Way: Annihilation is the foundation of the Path; through it one arrives at the station of investigation. He who does not become an expert in annihilation shall not discover the beautiful face of the bride (*ṭal'at al-ḥasnā'*). Such a one shall neither today nor tomorrow have a share among the Sufis.

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE

An Article on Subsistence

Said Allah, the Exalted, "... and Allah is better and more abiding."¹⁰² Rule (*qā'idah*): Subsistence (*al-baqā'*) is a station with which the reality of contemplation is mastered on the carpet of culture (*adab*) and in the company of the contemplated. Remark (*fā'idah*): The subsistence of subsistence is more perfect than subsistence. The possessor thereof is a guide who is guided in the perfection of piety. Rule: When subsistence abounds, sobriety is found; the vanishing of the former brings drunkenness to the possessor of eradication. Remark: The subsistent is subject to annihilation, but not all the annihilated are subsistent. Rule: The station of subsistence comprehends the potentiality of union, but the subsistence of subsistence comprehends the potentiality of the union of union. Remark: Union (*al-jam'*) is other than communion (*al-jam'iyyah*). Union is the contemplation of the unity (*waḥdānīyah*) of light, while communion is

¹⁰² Koran 20: 75.

[28a] 'absence' interspersed by 'presence.' Rule: Fulfilling the reality of union without the Law (*al-sharī'ah*) is heresy (*zandaqah*); the fulfilling of the station of separateness (*farq*) without union is heterodoxy (*tafriqah*). Remark: Reality is the secretion (*khafy*) of the inward, and the Law is the exposition of the outward. Hence it is commonly accepted that the inward is Reality and the outward is Law. Rule: When the station of subsistence is established after the annihilation of annihilation, it makes heredity (*al-wirāthah*) mandatory; when the station of the subsistence of subsistence has been established the possessor is made a candidate to succession (*al-khilāfah*). Remarks: In the station of subsistence it is that the saint (*al-walī*) is endowed with permanence (*tamkīn*), while in the station of the subsistence of subsistence does he administer permanence in the process of creation. Rule: The quality of subsistence in the subsistent differs in accordance with the previous record of annihilation. Hence the variance in stations and the disparity in feelings. Remark: Some men do not discover subsistence except after annihilation; these represent the majority. Others discover at the very start that subsistence is a charming thing (*raqīqah*) which people of esteem find to be characteristic of prophets. These are perfect in heredity. Rule: Subsistence requires the existence of annihilation; while the existence of annihilation abolishes the human attributes which one must seek to sanctify as he departs from them. Remark: Subsistence is the mirror of manifestation just as annihilation is the carpet of embellishment (*taḥallī*). Thus the annihilated and the subsistent stand on the platform of manifestation. Rule: The subsistence of the old is different from the subsistence of the new. Therefore, should the traveller obtain a Path, it will be symbolical, not genuinely true. Remark: The rise of subsistence does not arrive without [28b] the decline of annihilation.¹⁰³ Rule: The quality of subsistence in prophets makes for immunity (*īsmah*) and guidance (*hidāyah*); in saints it makes for protection and patronage. Therefore, whosoever achieves the quality of subsistence shall be immune against misery. Remark: Whoever ascends to the rank of annihilation and contemplates the first station of subsistence to him there shall at his beginning be

¹⁰³ Here follows a figure of speech in which puns are borrowed from the field of Arabic grammar. The outcome of translating what is otherwise a pithy Arabic symbol is so unpicturesque and stupid, that we decline the attempt.

brought the good tidings regarding what will happen to him at the end. This is the first robe of honour at the station of arrival at union (*al-wuṣūl*).

THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE

An Article on Sainthood in General

Said Allah, the Exalted, "Now surely the friends of Allah—they shall have no fear nor shall they grieve. Those who fear and are guarded [against evil]." ¹⁰⁴ Regulation (*ḍābiṭ*): The reality of sainthood in general, whereby the servant (*al-'abd*) assumes responsibility for safeguarding the rights of Allah, the Exalted, is a quality which comprehends what the Lord, glory to Him, loves and accepts; it proscribes that which brings forth His wrath and disapproval. Link (*rābiṭ*): Sainthood is closely linked with following (*ittibā'*), short of the deceit of innovation; for he who departs from imitation shall have no trace of guidance. Regulation: He through whom miracles appear achieved by righteousness, shall be the chosen saint, but he who shows forth the power to suspend the customary trend of things, without worship shall be a seducing devil. Link: Piety is the motto of guidance, and remembrance (*dhikr*) is the object of sainthood; therefore, he who is lacking in remembrance and piety is certainly to be counted among the people of dissension and false-pretense. Regulation: The saint is a servant, worshipping and fulfilling the duties of servanthip (*'ubūdīyah*); he is truthful, faithful and righteous according to Sufism. The poor man he prefers to the rich, the small quantity to the large, and the low to the high; he is of genuine feeling in the opinion of men. Whosoever is to the contrary shall relapse back to his own ways. Regulation: A saint is one who occupies his time with all kinds of meritorious works (*qurabāt*) so that his time is blessed even as his place is blessed by him. Link: He who squanders his time away shall be denied the grace of his labours and profits; instead, he shall hang on the visions of his hopes, and the pictures of his imagination will fruitlessly busy him. Regulation: A saint shall not procrastinate, putting off his work till tomorrow, lest he be denied the grace of the time being; rather does he tackle the present problem now, thereby protecting himself against expulsion and disfavour. Link: In the belief of the Sufis, it is not possible to contemplate the visions of the shadows except till after self-effacement (*maḥw*) and

¹⁰⁴ Koran 10: 63, 64.

passing away (*sawāl*). Therefore, if you see one who dares to contemplate visions, whereas he has not arrived at the reality after the shadow (*'ayn ba'd al-athar*), know that he is self-infatuated and self-conceited and has not entered the presence of contemplation through the light. Regulation: A saint is not immune to mortal sins (*kabīrah*, pl. *kabā'ir*), nor is he free from minor sins (*ṣaghīrah*, pl. *ṣaghā'ir*), yet he is preserved from the mortal ones, and the minor ones are forgiven him. Link: To the saint his work shall be bound with learned sayings, and his learning shall be used in his practical conditions. Regulation: When a saint is taken unawares by human forgetfulness, he shall not follow the devil indefinitely. Rather will he force the devil to accept repentance, and each time he falls, he recuperates. Link: The saint of the presence of beauty is infatuated, and the saint of the presence of majesty is outshadowed (*maghbūn*), but the saint of beauty and majesty is the possessor of perfection. Regulation: The possessor of the contemplated vision (*mashhad*) of beauty is frail, and whoever imitates him is seduced; the possessor of the contemplated vision [29b] of majesty is a strongly guided guide. The perfect (*al-kāmil*) is he who has contemplated the majesty of beauty and the beauty of majesty. Link: In proportion to the station (*maqām*) shall be the sojourn at the presence of revelation and the interview of union. Regulation: The saint is one who smiles if saluted; in conversation he is pleasant; when asked he shall give; should you trespass in his presence, he utters not a malignity; when others divulge secrets, he conceals; of princes he knows he is not proud, and the poor he does not disdain; nothing shall mar the radiance of his face; the next world he does not sell for the present. Through God he is rich; before Him he is humble; from Him he takes; to Him he gives; on Him he depends; he fears none other than God; his trust is only in God. These are some of the qualities of the saints, in the past and present. The following gems are lines of poetry that depict the grandeur of this spiritual condition:

Easy, soft, wealthy men of gentle birth,
 Leaders in noble actions, sons of privilege,
 They speak not of vice when they talk,
 Nor do they stubbornly object when they do object.
 Whomever of them you meet, of him you can say 'I met
 the chief.'
 Like stars they are that guide the traveller by night.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE

An Article on Special Sainthood

Said Allah, the Exalted, "Allah is the Guardian of those who believe: He brings them out of the darkness into light."¹⁰⁵ Conjururation of the treasured talisman (*fath ṭilsam al-kanz*):¹⁰⁶ Take the letters of the human talisman (*al-ṭilsam al-insāni*) and extract from them the spiritual name (*al-ism al-rūḥāni*), then affix to it your signature and carry it as an amulet while you go on your [30a] path. When you reach the door (*al-bāb*), kneeling at the threshold, busy yourself with the dispelling of all obstacles; seek God's refuge from the evil of mishaps (*al-ṭāriq*). Do not mention the Guardian (*al-muwakkal*) but by the best of his names, and do not overlook your intention till the 'conjured one' shall have come. Offer your fragrant incense and direct it towards the coming blessing (*al-wārid*) throughout the period of invocation of divine assistance (*al-ʿawn*). Take care when He grants you the permission, having opened the door (*fataḥa*) cordially and graciously, not to appropriate hastily the wares and material wealth, for that leads to instantaneous peril, may Allah be our refuge! On the contrary, make your aim the King and no one else. If he grant you the secret of his seal (*sirr khātamihi*), you have obtained then all abundance. Then shall all servants, the chosen and the common, obey you, and you will be felicitous with the inheritance of the king without obstinacy (*muʿānadah*), lest you perish. Decipherment of the meaning of the riddle (*ḥall maʿna al-lughz*):¹⁰⁷ The hidden secret is the preserved saint (*al-wali al-maṣūn*) who enriches the people of will through the Alchemy of Happiness (*kīmiyāʾ*

¹⁰⁵ Koran 2: 258.

¹⁰⁶ The word *ṭilsam* (Eng. talisman), of which *ṭilsim*, *ṭilism* and *ṭilasm* are Arabic variants, is derived from Greek τέλεσμα. The Greek name is evidence of its origin in the late Hellenistic period, and gnostic ideas are obviously reflected in the widespread use of charms. The wise Balīnās is said to have been the father of talismans. Many rules for preparing talismans are ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos. For a bibliography see D. Gustav Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1923, pp. 310-315; also articles "Ṭilsam" and "Ḥamā'il," in E. I. The expression "Conjururation of the treasured talisman" will hereafter be shortened to read, "Talisman."

¹⁰⁷ Hereafter the expression "Decipherment of the meaning of the riddle" will be shortened to read 'Decipherment.'

al-sa'ādah ¹⁰⁸). Talisman: The reality of special sainthood, through which God, to Whom be glory, administers special reproof and patronage to His saint and beloved in the eternity of his first love, continues to appear on the special saint to the end. . . . This description is the Key to the Talisman of Divine-Treasure Secrets (*miftāḥ ṭilsam kanz al-asrār al-rabbānīyah*), which are comprehensive of Arabic and Syriac pages. Decipherment: The saint who is beloved of Allah is the treasury of secrets and mysteries; the Night of Power, magnificent in consequences; the Name that is heard by Allah; the Letter of Action. [30b] Wonder not, therefore, if miracles are wrought by such; or if natural laws are suspended. For in his subsistence he acquires the capacity to do like his master. . . . Talisman: The special saint of Allah entered the presence of pleasures, where the realities of attributes were manifested to him; he contemplated the significance of attributes and the Excellent Names in all embellishments; there he witnessed what no eye ever saw nor ear ever heard and what never occurred to a human heart. Decipherment: The elixir (*al-iksīr*), O man of wits, is the great gift of Allah; he who acquires it acquires all riches, and becomes free from worry and fatigue. Talisman: If you ever see a gnostic seated on the carpet of guidance, while the voice of his condition, or his words, beckons men to come, make you haste, O seeker, to the quest of the new vistas he opens. Decipherment: Ponder the letters of the alphabet, imagine the letter *alib* and cover all the stages of its variation. Thus does the perfect saint develop all the variations in order to satisfy all his desires. . . . Talisman: Usually conjuration does not occur without a key; the key is the great man; therefore, when the fruits of humility are obtained, the talisman of the universe shall be conjured and shall yield the realities, the mirror-treasure. [31a] Be not, therefore, one who as an agnostic denies the conjuration of this greatest of treasures. Decipherment: A certain gnostic said that knowledge is a veil (*ḥijāb*) in case it is wicked, but not in case it is praiseworthy. Another one said it is a veil without any exception. I say, so it is when one feels an exaggerated sense of the

¹⁰⁸ This expression was used as a title of a work by al-Ghazzālī, originally written in Persian. It was an abbreviation of *lḥyā' 'Ulām al-Dīn*. A translation of it from Turkish was made by Henry A. Homes, New York, 1873. The word *kimiya'* appears in the text in the contracted form *kim*; chapter 167 of ibn-Arabī's *Futūḥāt* (mentioned above p. 8) carries the same title and is an esoteric allegory of the ascension of man to Heaven, anticipating Dante's Paradise.

quality of knowledge in the presence of the Unity of Essence. Talisman: When the chosen one (*al-makḥṣūṣ*) comes to the 'presence of pleasures' all the features and qualities in him are annihilated; at the stations he no more stops, nor does he in view of that have to pay any attention to them. If you desire to be likewise, walk in the tracks of such roads,

And whatever you see all ranks will be manifested to you;
Be not concerned with these, for such things concern us not.

And recite:

'Outside of your essence I have no ambition,
Not a picture to capture, not a glance to glean.'

Decipherment: A certain gnostic said: "We sailed over a sea, at whose shore the prophets stood"; to which we responded: "The gnostics have sailed over the sea of unification, first by proof and evidence, and afterwards they reached the rank of contemplation and seeing. As for the prophets, they stood at the beginning on the shore of seeing; consequently, they reached what knowledge cannot express. Thus it happened that the beginning of the prophets, peace upon them, was the end of the gnostics." Talisman: Said the Messenger of Allah, Allah bless and keep him, Allah, the Exalted, says: "A servant continues to draw near unto me through his supererogatory works till I love him, and once I have loved him I become to [31b] him a hearing, an eye-sight, a hand and a support."¹⁰⁹ We comment, "A hearing to hear the reports of inspiration, an eye to see the light of providential heat, a hand to confirm and a support to fill the gap." Decipherment: A certain gnostic said, "And all the woe of Job is but a part of my affliction."¹¹⁰ To which we reply, "Job's ordeals concerned the body not the spirit, while the ordeals of this gnostic partake of the spiritual burning thirst (*arwām*) as well as bodily affliction." Talisman: A certain gnostic said that the station of the message lies in the intermediate region (*barsakh*)¹¹¹ above the prophet's position and below that of the saint. On this we remark that this can be clarified by the weighing out of realities; for prophecy

¹⁰⁹ Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Riqāq, 38.

¹¹⁰ Part of a couplet by ibn-al-Fāriḍ. See above, p. 23.

¹¹¹ Has also occurred in the sense that means *al-a'raf*, i. e. the battlements separating Paradise from Hell, Mathnawī, p. 206.

implies the drawing from God through God's inspiration; whereas the station of the Message implies the preaching of that which God has commanded unto the servants of God. Yet the station of sainthood in general is below the special sainthood which is a commandment understood from God's words. These three qualifications, however, are all possessed by one who is a Messenger. Understand this verification in the dogma of the people of the Path; do not imagine that they hold the belief which grants preference to sainthood over prophecy and the Message. Rise above this, for verily it is waywardness. Decipherment: A certain gnostic said that the saint attains such a rank where all worries of struggle vanish; that is, at first the saint meets with the worry of fatigue, but once he has arrived he finds restfulness in struggle.¹¹² Talisman: A gnostic said, "Sovereignty has a secret which would suspend the light of the Law were it to appear." We rejoin, "This is the secret which circumvents all deeds through creation [32a] and discovery; it even controls the processes of intellectual growth (*kasb*) in obedience which is the ground-work of the Law to every obedient servant." Decipherment: A certain gnostic said,

Perform your ablution with the water of the unseen (*ghayb*)¹¹³
if you are a man of consciousness (*sirr*);¹¹⁴

Otherwise, the soil or stone will do.

Give precedence to a religious leader (*imām*) who is inferior
to you in spiritual office,

Offer the prayer of daybreak (*ṣalāt al-fajr*) in the mid-after-
noon (*al-ʿaṣr*);

For this is the prayer of those who know their Lord;

If you be one of them, cleanse the land with the water of
the sea.¹¹⁵

We say that ablution (*al-wuḍūʿ*) here means the purity of the members of inward qualities as against moral defilements, through the use of the unseen water of unification. . . . Give precedence to a religious leader who was present on the day of discoursing (*yawm*

¹¹² Here follows a proverb conveniently used in Arabic but defying translation.

¹¹³ Ni S, p. 112.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, see Index. The term *sirr* might also mean 'divine or sublime consciousness.'

¹¹⁵ These three couplets are ascribed to ibn-'Arabi; see Sha'rāni, p. 63.

al-khiṭāb), but on whom you took precedence when the curtain fell. The injunction to offer the prayer of daybreak means the prayer of the daytime when your contemplation was started following the period of your existence in darkness; in the mid-afternoon means the beginning of the outburst of your dawn. Do not stay to the end of your apportioned time, for time matters and delay is disliked. This is the prayer of the investigators who know of their Lord, who have not withdrawn from the observance of legal precepts (*al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyyah*) at all the sessions of contemplating the sovereignty. If you be among these and have fulfilled their cultural obligations (*ādāb*), then you may proceed to cleanse the land with the sea, that is, wash out with the sea-water of reality whatever might defile your righteousness on the land of the Law. . . . Talisman: Said the voice ¹¹⁶ of divine meaning (*al-wārid*): "These are the unique stars which [32b] arose in the heaven of usefulness and sent forth their illumination through suns of contemplation." Know, O you contemplator, that beauty and majesty are the unseen side of what apparently they seem to grow from in one of the presences of alternation (*talwīn*),¹¹⁷ the secrets of creation ¹¹⁸ and the phases of manifestations. Individualization (*al-taʿayyun*) ¹¹⁹ is the example of that in the creation of the phases of perfect humanity characterised with prophecy. The message (*al-risālah*) marks the appearance of the fear of honouring the Majesty and loving beauty in order to achieve union. In the emergence of sainthood emerges the fear of consequence caused by the lack of infallibility. Pleading for proximity (*qurb*), for the sake of the honour of the One to be seen, is the opposite of the previous. That is why the saint at this point would have his tongue balancing his progress lest either one of his scales be found lacking, for it is with these two scales that he acquires two wings with which he can set out in accordance with righteousness in the world; in the next world he shall fly through the course of examination. The wisdom of their

¹¹⁶ Lit., tongue (*lisān*).

¹¹⁷ *Talwīn* is the ever-changing succession of complementary states which only ceases with the complete annihilation of the mystic's individuality. It is opposed to *tamkīn*, fixity. See Fāriḍ T, p. 34 v. 484; al-Hujwiri, pp. 370 sqq.

¹¹⁸ The three episodes in creation are the will (*irādah*), the formation (*takwīn*) and the perfection of the act of creation (*ibdāʿ*). See Mass H, t. ii, p. 520.

¹¹⁹ *Man*, in the opinion of ibn-ʿArabi, is an absolute being limited by individualization (*taʿayyun*). But this is unreal; it consists only in failure to receive all individualizations. See "Some Notes on the Fuṣūṣ'l-Ḥikam" in Ni S, p. 157.

appearance varies according to changing stations—at the station of succession (*khilāfah*), they assume the rôle of forgiveness and punishment because of the station of specialization. Said the noble voice whose description is magnificent; verse:

The All-Merciful created for him a road to forgiveness,
As the Almighty created for him a right when needed.

They appear in the sublime station of the nobility of character and in the pious and pleasing qualities with mellowness and proud harshness, in order to strip the spirits from the vile qualities. . . .

They (two wings) also appear at the station of Almightyness (*jabarūtīyah*)¹²⁰ in the interest of the wisdom of creation ushering in bounties and losses, as is well attested by the people of intellects and eyes.

If you cannot do good, then seek evil,
For a man is worth the evil or the good he can produce.

As for their appearance in the mysteries (*asrār*) of creation, this is revealed through the observed facts of beauty and ugliness, stammering and eloquence, sickness and health, imperfection and perfection, the broken and the healed, the darkness and the light,¹²¹ sorrow and joy, etc. As for their appearance in the various phases of individualization (*ta'ayyun*), that is what God offers for the contemplation of the owners of mental eyes and of understanding in the presence of contemplating the visions of lifted gradations (*darajāt*), in the wisdom of Providence (*tadbīr*), in the wisdom of predestination and in every form of favourable or unfavourable experience. Thus you will find that there is a state of equality, among the Sufis, between the attribute of majesty and that of beauty; because they know this to be conducive to the station of perfection.

¹²⁰ Cf. Jilāni I, p. 25; Fāriḍ T, p. 40, vv. 569 and 571. Strictly speaking *jabarūt* and *malakūt* denote the Attributes and the Essence. See Ni S, p. 251. Ibn-al-Fāriḍ, *op. cit.*, vv. 549-574 describes the Divine Names according to 1) their characteristic qualities; 2) their benefits to body and soul; and 3) their respective spheres of influence, viz., the visible world (*'ālam al-ghayb*), the world of dominion (*'ālam al-malakūt*), and the world of almightiness (*'ālam al-jabarūt*). See, however, Margaret Smith, in JRAS, April, 1938, p. 189.

¹²¹ Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, New York, 1932, pp. 222 sqq.

O Ruler of mine, O my Arbiter,
Verily your laws agree with every form of wisdom.

If you grant me grace, that is out of your bounty; if you visit revenge upon me, that again is justice on your part. Grant not, therefore, that either attribute should hide from us the other, lest we be blocked from you by you. We beg that you uncover for us yourself through yourself, O one from whose attribute emerges the attribute of every creature; but for your attribute, our attribute would not [33b] have been. Cleanse us from our blemishes that we might see your attribute in the mirror of our existence which is drawn from the existence of your existence. You are able to do all things. From you do we begin and in you do we stand; to you do we go. You are our Master. What a goodly Master and what a goodly support! Decipherment: The gnostic landed at the sea-shore of tasteful meanings (*al-ma'āni al-dhawqīyah*) where the sun of the knowledge of revelation shone on him. Hence he became the horizon of its rise by its luminous light, and the place of its setting after it sparkled. He gained authority for touching the jewels of investigation and prestige for research. O you who have entered the door of unification and become illumined with the sun of Essence and enlightened with the light of attributes, having read His hidden secret and understood the relation between knowledge and the sciences, you who have unravelled the problem of that vast expanse (*al-faḍā'*) in the presence of the contemplators of the brilliant light; verily you are the sublime one (*al-'azīz*) in the universe for what you have brought together of the realities of learning; the presence of your absence (*ghaybah*) is incomprehensible, and the secrets of your wisdom are unknowable:

Since we departed from you, that year,
We surely arrived at a sea whose shore was near.
The sun of meaning agreed with our horizon;
Its west was from us, and so was the east.
We fell upon a jewel of which
Were composed our spirits that became jewel-like.
Pray tell us, "What is this secret, this sun?
This jewel of the sea we mentioned?"
Verily we dwell in a world whose name is 'expanse';
Too small for us it is, but we are never small.
Tempestuous seas behind us roll;

[34a] How could men tell our whereabouts?

Said Allah, the Exalted, "And when We said to the angels 'Make obeisance to Adam,' they did obeisance."¹²² If you argue that obeisance before anyone other than God is unlawful, how was this obeisance then made lawful? We reply that this kind of obeisance signifies the submission of humility on the part of the small before the great. It is not the obeisance of a servant before the Lord; for Adam is a servant not a lord; yet he is more worthy of honour in his human form because of the appearance of the praised (*al-muḥammadīyah*)¹²³ character in him. This it is that makes the obeisance required at this altar, O ye men of taste and intellects. For surely the head of Adam is a *mīm* and his hand is a *ḥā'* and his middle part is a *mīm*; the remainder is a *dāl*. Thus it was that the name Muḥammad was written in the old script. If you ask, "Why not show the other hand that the word be read from both right and left?" we answer that even though Muḥammad be written this way, he is greater in praise; for it has been proved that he, blessing and peace upon him, could see what lies behind him as he saw what lay before him. Thus, what lies to the left side of Muḥammad, when he looks backward, becomes to his right side when he looks forward, may Allah bless and keep him. That is why a certain gnostic stated that it would not be correct to refer to his left but rather should it be called his first right, the other being the second right or the right of his face and the right of his back. Such are the manners of the people of reality. The words of our master (*ustādhuna*) corroborate what we said:

Had Satan seen the spark of His light

In Adam's face, he would surely have been the first to kneel.

He, may Allah bless and keep him, is the light of all the Messengers, [34b] the prophets and all the people of goodness among the pious.

Jesus, Adam and all the Patriarchs (*al-ṣudūr*)

Are eyes of which he became the transcending light.

For verily the Prophet, on him be blessing and peace, was invested by God with the light of the prophets, the guidance of the messengers

¹²² Koran 2: 32.

¹²³ Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 249 sqq. On the difference between Aḥmad and Muḥammad see Mathnawi, p. 26.

and the righteousness of the saints; and finally, He distinguished him with the light of the seal.¹²⁴ This is a quaint remark: His name is Muḥammad of which the *mīm* is the first letter; but when you say *mīm* that gives three letters; then comes the *ḥā'* which is two letters, a *ḥā'* and an *alif*; the *hamzah* does not count for it is an *alif*; the double *mīm* counts for six letters; next, the *dāl* makes three, *dāl*, *lām* and *alif*. If these letters of his name be counted in their entirety both outwardly and inwardly you will get three hundred and fourteen—three hundred and thirteen being equivalent to the number of the messengers who possess the qualification of prophecy; that leaves one for the station of sainthood which is distributed among all the saints who follow the prophets and who follow him, upon him and upon them the sweetest blessing and peace. This is a small note: There was nothing left of the number for distribution among the distinguished saints, although among them are those who are noted for their investigation though they stand alone. But these are the favoured few; out of one of them does God send light to his time. This is the fact of solitary distinction (*al-daḡīqah al-fardānīyah*) drawn from the universal reality of Muḥammad:

It is not impossible for Allah

To unite the whole world in one man.

Decipherment: A certain gnostic said that *al-Khiḍr*¹²⁵ is a station, but the distinguished saints [35a] denied him the truth of that statement. Talisman: A certain gnostic said, "We believe that the beloved saint who reckons the inner meanings (*al-ghuyūb*) shall be endowed with power for wonders to the same extent that *al-Khiḍr* performed miracles. In the opinion of believers in the succession to *al-Khiḍr* this is superior to succession to Moses. Furthermore, a

¹²⁴ See Edward J. Jurji, "The Conciliatory Tone of ibn-'Arabi," in *The Moslem World*, vol. xxviii, no. 1, 1938, p. 35.

¹²⁵ The figure of *al-Khiḍr* is one of the most interesting, though obscure, in Islam. One finds no direct mention of it in the Koran but as Friedländer pointed out, it is a composite personage, the product of Moslem syncretism. The word as such is probably a descriptive reference to the green colour of the saint in his capacity as a sea-god. It is undoubtedly linked with the Greek γλαῦκος—Glaukos (Pausan. 9: 22; Ovid, Met. 13: 904 sqq.). Consult: S. I. Curtiss, *Ursem. Rel. im Volks. des heut. Or.*, Leipzig, 1903; I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhir-legende* etc., Berlin, 1913; al-Damiri, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, tr. A. J. S. Gayakar, 2 vols., London and Bombay, 1906; al-Tha'ālibi, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo, 1297.

succession is a station; understand the words, O denier. Decipherment: A gnostic said, "Nothing shall be which is more marvellous than what already has been." To this we reply, "Verily, this is true regarding the possibilities of Divine Wisdom, but in no way is it true about Divine Powers." Such is more seemly as an interpretation of the words of the imām, the 'Authority of Islam.' Talisman: A gnostic said, "My heart spoke to me, on the authority of my Lord, saying: 'Who denies that Allah did not speak except to the great Moses?'" We add that Moses, peace on him, was singled out for speaking to Him; but a saint experiences the 'descent' of inspiration which to the saints is a revelation, though it be less dignified than the revelation of the prophets. Distinguish, therefore, between, "He told" and "He spoke to," O you who deny and imagine. Decipherment: Said 'Ali, may Allah brighten his face:

"Do you consider yourself a small body?

The whole universe is folded within you!"

We say that man is equivalent to the worlds; for when the All-Wise (*al-ḥakīm*) brought order into the upper world, he made its skies of seven layers,¹²⁶ massed on top of each other; in each layer he placed a kind of angel who together "glorify Him by night and day and are never languid."¹²⁷ Similarly has he wrought the physical constitution of man out of nine substances amassed on each other; each one he furnished with [35b] energy and inertia that do not cease in movement until the time of death; these are the brain, nerves, veins, blood, flesh, skin and hair. Each one of these substances grows and increases. And since each sky is divided into twelve constellations (sing. *burj*), so does the body contain twelve openings. They are: the eyes, nostrils, hands, orifices, mouth and umbilicus. Since another set of six are to the north and yet another are to the south similarly the openings are divided, six to the right side and six to the left. Further, just as the sky consists of seven planetary stars so are there in the body seven forces which make for physical welfare. Just as these planets are given by their Creator the power of action on the spirits through their spiritual vitality, similarly were there established in the human body seven physical faculties which control attractiveness, cohesiveness, digestiveness, repulsiveness, nutritiveness, growth, hearing, taste, smell, sight, speech, and intellect. Moreover,

¹²⁶ Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 271-287.

even as there are four elements under the moon, which are the mothers, namely, fire, air, water and earth through which is provided the productive material for the growth and development of animals, plants and minerals, similarly are there in the physical constitution of man four organs which make the whole of man: first is the skull, next the thorax, then comes the abdomen and finally, the belly-to-the-feet. Now the skull is equivalent [36a] to fire, the thorax to air, the abdomen to water and the belly-to-the-feet is equivalent to earth. The details of the analogy are: the skull resembles fire because of the rays of vision and the warm breath that mounts up to it; the thorax is likened to air because it breathes it, whence air passes into the lungs, once going in and another time rushing out; once it is quiet, and another time it is in motion; the abdomen resembles water in view of the amount of liquid substances contained in it; the belly-to-the-feet is made to resemble earth in view of what is contained therein of dry and motionless bones, in which the marrow lies hidden, just as minerals are hidden in the soil; the three other parts rest on this just as the skull, thorax and abdomen all rest upon the legs. In the universe there is the sun and the moon, so in man were placed a spirit and a mind: the spirit is like the sun, the mind like the moon. And just as in the universe there are angels and devils, so in man were created his volition and good intentions resembling the angels, while his passions and ill-natured desires are like the devils. There are many other analogies which might be brought out but which the space of these pages prohibits. If the intelligent man would consider the secret of wisdom in the constitution of man, the doors of knowledge having been opened before him, he shall know with certainty that this is the copy of man, when he knows the Divine Presence. Verse:

You who wander in deserts away from your own consciousness,
 Come back to yourself to find all existence summed up in you.
 You are the way and reality of perfection,
 O one in whom the great consciousness of God dwells.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ The doctrine of the microcosm, traces of which are detectable in the works of the great English poets, is the old philosophical theory that conceives of man as an epitome of the universe; it is well represented in the writings of the Sufis. Both al-Suhrawardi, for example in *Mu'nis al-'Ushshāq*, ed. Otto Spies, Stuttgart, 1934, and ibn-'Arabi, for example in *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabi*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Leyden, 1919, wrote on this subject. See the former work, p. 22.

THE BOOK THAT INCLUDES DIFFERENT MAXIMS

When the chosen one has specialized in the specialties of knowledge, he becomes a stranger among his own people in the world. Yea, because of the preponderance of his energy and ambition, hardly may an assistant meet his demand. Verse:

In every town he is a stranger far from home;
When the demand is great, help grows more scarce.

When the moral formation (*al-shākilah*¹ *al-ma'nawīyah*) has been achieved, its possessor shall be estranged in the midst of his sense formation. Verse:

Man's state of being a stranger consists less in being remote
from home,
And more in his being out of shape as compared with others.

The man of reason and intelligence is he who is addicted to his solitude—a stranger with whom no one is neighbourly. He and his kind are a 'small crowd'² at every time, in every people and faith. Couplet:

Every man finds a type among men with which he agrees,
The most 'brainy' are hardest to find.

He said, peace on him, "The spirits are like armed hosts; those of them who recognize each other are friendly, while those who are estranged must fight." The factor that makes for friendship depends on the compatibility of temperaments and qualities; especially when rivalries are obliterated and replenishment (*al-imdād*)³ agrees with the desired object. Couplets:

By your religion I swear that brethren are not those who from
the same droplet

¹ *Shikālah* and *ashkāl* (*ShKL*) are used in a technical sense implying magical and Sufistic ideas. In the performance of divination through sand (*'ilm al-raml*) the term *ashkāl* refers to the aggregate of *nuqaṭ* drawn with ink on paper and given magical or abstract names.

² The text has *jam' al-qillah* which according to Arabic grammar means 'plural of paucity,' three to ten, as opposed to *jam' al-kathrah*, 'plural of multiplicity.'

³ Cf. Fāriḍ T, p. 29, v. 403, p. 50, v. 716; Ni S, pp. 233, 261.

In the wombs are formed in the realm of the physical.
 Verily, brethren are those whose description agrees
 With the description of the spirit in the realm of replenishment.

Your brother is he who agrees with you in character and possesses what you possess by way of illumination (*ishrāq*) so that he can be with you in the presence of [37a] subsistence (*baqā'*) and the regions of happiness through meeting (*al-liqā'*). If you then ask, "What is the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, may Allah bless and keep him, 'Love of country is the product of faith?'" I say that there are two kinds of homelands: the homeland of the people of Paradise (*al-jinān*) and that of the people of contemplation and seeing with mystic eyes; the people of Paradise are the people of the right, and those of eye-seeing are the ones brought near to God (*al-muqarrabūn*).⁴ Of the former group did some one say, verse:

Come to the gardens of Eden for verily they are
 Our foremost dwellings whereat we camp.
 Captives of the enemy, shall we ever return
 To our homelands where we may rest in peace?

Of the latter group spoke out the tongue of blessings from God with the following gift drawn from the gnostic gifts. Couplets:

The homeland of man is just that world
 Where limpid wine is served, my lover being the boon-companion.
 All in the presence of communion with God in the world of subsistence—
 Such are my homelands, there the universe is my servant.

I shall not state that he whom nature drives to the lower regions shall not see even a flicker of the heavenly light. . . . Nor shall I say what ibn-al-Rūmi⁶ the poet, said. For he has not felt the sentiments which

⁴ On *al-muqarrabūn* see al-Sarrāj, ch. 43; Fāriḍ T, p. 24, vv. 220, 221. *Muqarrab*, lit. means "one who is brought near to God." Sufis often use this term, which is borrowed from the Koran, to describe the highest class of saints. The *muqarrab* prefers union to separation, whereas in perfect union there are no contraries.

⁶ Reference is intended here to 'Alī ibn-al-'Abbās ibn-Jurayj al-Rūmi, born 221/836, d. 283/896 who despite his distinguished poetic gifts made many enemies by his lampoons. Finally al-Mu'taḍid's vizir al-Qāsim ibn-'Ubaydullāh is said to have gotten rid of him by poisoning. He left a fairly extensive *Diwān* which was collected and arranged by al-Ṣūlī.

we have verified; rather was he subject to the assaults of youthful habits so that when age came upon him he longed for the days gone by and passionately desired them. Listen not to his words:

For men love their homelands
Because of the interests in them fulfilled by youth.
Thus, when they recall their homelands, they remember their
Early experiences, hence their passionate longing.

Therefore the reply to the query of one who asks is that the homeland cannot be loved if it were a resort for atheism (*kufr*) and iniquity. At the beginning, the novice seeks union, but the desired object is to him worth both union and separation.

In the olden days I sought union with them;
But when knowledge came and ignorance passed away,
I became convinced that a servant has no demand to make.
If they grant him union that is bountiful, if they depart, that
is just.
If they reveal, they only reveal their attribute;
If they conceal, concealment for their sake becomes sweet.

Such are the manners of servanthip (i. e. '*ubūdiyyah*') before the sublimity of Sovereignty. Servanthip is resignation accompanied with surrender; it is walking in the road of righteousness; servanthip is the quality of the servant who is annihilated in his beloved; who delights in being scorned for the sake of his purpose and desire.
Verse:

While I was entranced by her love, all scorn was easy;
It mattered not that enemies called me a profligate.
I am deaf when called by my name,
But if they call me "O servant of hers" I answer obediently.

Servanthip is the annihilation of the qualities of the contemplator in the contemplated; together with the maintenance of the quality of subsistence in order to carry out the stipulated obligations. The servant is one who does not depart from the door, who is driven away from the thresholds by nothing. The sign (*'alāmah*) of the servant who is humble before his master is that he should be desirous and seeking for his pleasure; with the eye tearful lest separation come between them.

When through the curtain I saw her eyebrow
 And Layla's eye-ball behind her veil,
 The messengers of tears did I despatch between me and her
 That she might permit me to draw near and kiss her door;
 Yet she permitted only the closing of her eyelids
 And allowed only the kissing of the earth around her feet.

One lover visited another; the one in excessive love sang out of merriment as the beauty of the beloved illuminated him and gave him light. Couplet:

Had we but known of your coming, we would have spread out
 Our hearts of hearts and the delicately formed bodies;
 Cheeks on the pathway we would have stretched
 That your passage might be on them.

The commingling of hearts is the cause of the beloved's love. Do you not see that he for whom the heart longs should undoubtedly be loved by it? Couplet:

Ask your hearts about the loyal love of men
 For these are witnesses who accept no bribe;
 Seek not to ask the eyes for this
 Since they confound what inwardly lies.

When the spirits coincided, they agreed with the category of bodies. Similarly must you read into the meaning of the coinciding of spirits, within the field of this taste and its evidences, the bond that relates one to his brother and friend. . . . Be not deceived with the bond of companionship if it be not based upon compatibility; desertion might be the consequence even after a long period of association. Beware of associating with him whom you do not resemble; for the scourge of wax is its company [38b] of cotton. The real man is he who knows Time and subjects the men of his time to the criterion of a balance, deals with them in accordance with their wares and speaks with them according to their understanding and intelligence. . . . The man of wisdom is one who sells to the merchants their own wares and assigns to things their own places; whoever is of this quality shall not feel sorry for his behaviour, rather will he be pleased for having things in their proper place. Couplet:

Merry was I upon having sold my commodities,
 So is every man who sells wares at the time of their marketing.

Association with men must be inspired by purity, chivalry, generosity, forbearance and manliness.

If you ever associate with men, be a youth
Who behaves like the slave of every friend;
Like water let your taste be both fresh and cool
On the tortured belly of every friend.

A great gap lies between an imperfect man who rises in the scale of imperfection and a perfect man who falls in the scale of preponderation. It is true about these recent times that the man of nobility is demoted while the poor is promoted. Such is the polarization of the lower extreme and the honoured extreme. It is a disease that places the honourable far above the subject while he only deserves a humble status. . . . The honour of religion is surely more magnificent in position; and the most distinguished pedigree in the [39a] reckoning of Allah is piety. Verse:

By your religion I swear that man only is the child of his faith;
Therefore, depart not from piety out of dependence on your
pedigree.

Verily 'tis Islam which uplifted the station of Salmān al-Fārisi⁶
While polytheism (*shirk*) brought downfall to the distinguished
abu-Lahab.⁷

He who claims the station of prominent men shall be tested by his own experience. A couplet of verse:

Who seeks to beautify himself with that which is not in him,
His falsehood shall be proved by the results of testing.

Despise not the look of a man whose adornments are poor and magnify not a fool because his clothes are fine; for a man is con-

⁶ A companion of the Prophet who presumably was of Persian origin. He advised the digging of the ditch (*khandaq*) when the siege of al-Madinah was directed against the "believers" by the Meccans. He is one of the principal links in the Mystic chain. Consult: Ibn-Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, vol. iv, pt. i. Leyden, 1909, pp. 53 *seq.* and vol. vi, p. 9; R. Dussaud, *Hist. et Rel. de Noşairis*, Paris, 1900, pp. 168, 62, 74, 133, 163, 133.

⁷ Abu-Lahab's real name was 'Abd-al-'Uzza ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib. He was an uncle and a bitter opponent of the Prophet. See Koran, sura iii and the commentaries of Bayḍāwī and Ṭabṛī; ibn-Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1858, I, pp. 69, 231 *sqq.*; al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Berlin, 1882, tr. Wellhausen, pp. 42 and 351.

cealed behind his tongue; the jewel of his mind lies in the confines of his shell. Upon being tested a man emerges either sublime or scorned. Know that gold lies buried in the soil until discovered and that the worth of a gold coin depends on its lustre not the inscription. One should learn, therefore, to hold no fool in high esteem due to the polished exterior which might misrepresent him. Nor should you despise a man of cultured spirit simply because of his wretched clothing and humble furniture. How often you congratulate a man in rags on his virtue, while one in gorgeous clothes you put to shame for his roguery. If a man does not bear shame, he shall have no name inscribed for him in His throne. Destruction does no harm to a family relationship, and a falcon suffers not through the [39b] lowliness of his nest.⁸ Say not that this age spells doom for the great divines; verily in this age they are like a treasure protected by a wall. Verse:

I suffer not if I am not in the front rank,
 For in a race the last run only counts;
 Even if the field of rhetoric has fallen to oblivion,
 Many a pearl lies buried in the foundation of a wall.

No one shall be lacking because his measure is at the end. His virtue shall overshadow his peers and equals, for God put the Prophet, may Allah bless and keep him, at the end, yet he advanced his rank and praise. Thus when the quality of a man's magnificence and grandeur is widely known, it shall not do him any harm to be subjected to expressions of comparison, unless there be equality between the persons compared; but comparison in itself means nothing. Verse:

Do you not see that the prestige of the sword is underestimated,
 If you say that the sword is sharper than the cane?

It is considered a weakness in speech to seek self-promotion through the adoption of the attributes of perfection.

His names do not make Him better known;
 We only repeat them for the pleasure of so doing.

He who seeks to prove by evidence what the eyes can see is poor in taste and lacking in understanding.

⁸ A paraphrase of six couplets.

Nothing will make the brain sound,
When one seeks proof for daylight.

Him whose countenance seems bright, you should accept as a man of pure intentions ; particularly will this be true, when such a man meets with the approval of whomsoever accepts Him or is accepted by Him.

The precept of God is that he whose heart is pure
Shall look great before men.
Like a mirror for the heart, the face is ;
The face for the heart is like a niche that illumines it.

The mirror of the good heart imparts to the observer the inner secret.

[40a] I became like unto a mirror whose clarity relates
All the inner gloom that in us lies.

The man of sharp intellect does not see with the naked eye but with the inner vision. Couplet :

Many a man who sees, yet lacks an intellect ;
If he does see, his heart yet fails to see.

Your life, O man, is in reality only that part in which you associate with the people of the Path.

In themselves days are not preferred over others,
But the days of the good are joyous.

The days of your heedlessness (*ghaflah*) are a loss, while the days of your friendship with the gnostic are profitable. Verse :

May I be your ransom, yea all the days of my life
I give in place of the days in which I knew you.

The most delightful life is that of friendship with the people of loyalty. Thus shall a man find happiness among men. Seek, therefore, the friendship of the loyal, even though you make only one friend. Couplets :

He who lives not among men he enjoys,
Shall find his life full of grief ;
Most abominable is life in which one exists
In green meadows which like enemies are forgotten ;

The most happy moments are those in which the spirit finds
rest,

The eye of a needle shall then with the beloved be a wide field.

The one to whom exaltation is accorded shall be regarded by the
eye with veneration. Thus he should befriend the innocent and avoid
the wicked in order to preserve himself from disgrace. Verse:

Error in the obscure fool shall remain obscure,
While error in the famous man of honour shall become famous.

[40b]

Blindness as a defect may pass unnoticed
While a little dot in the black of the eye is objectionable.

The small part of a large whole is large, while the large part of a
small whole is small.

A man of greatness shall not err for a minute,
For frailties are the lot of the degenerate;
Verily the minor sins of the great are great,
While the mortal sins of the small are small.

When the elect among the Sufis (*ahl al-khuṣṣiyyah*) pass away, the
man who had known them in life shall regret their departure. Verse:

While man lives, he is feared;
Only when missed after death is he exalted.

It is prevalent among the respectable men of this age to give credit
to the men who deserve respect; only when a man dies and passes out
of sight is he really respected. Men only praise the man who dies or
is far away. Verse:

He who dies after a devil-like career of sin
May still draw from men the expression: 'How good he was!'⁹

Once you find yourself estranged from the saints, know that you are
expelled from their society by Allah; for God, glory to Him, had He
been pleased with you would have surely made you desire them. Verse:

You who from us withdraw,
Verily your withdrawal comes from us.

* Two couplets summed up in one.

Had we desired you, we would have made
Everything in you desirous of us.

Said the voice of feeling of the sublime sovereignty to the one who
withdrew from it and departed:

We are satisfied with ourselves regardless of him who does
not come to us,

Though his character and qualities be perfect.

Alienation and weariness are the lot of him who leaves us;

Suffice it for the one who foregoes us that we forego him. . . .

[41a] When men have love for a certain one

They send messages to the heart through their feeling. . . .

The enmity of the intelligent is better than the friendship of the fool.

Couplet:

The enmity of the intelligent who has wits

Is sweeter and more comely than the friendship of a stupid
fellow.

People of refinement have their own way to the conquest of the
enemy, while those of rudeness are not loved except in rare cases.

Verse:

Friends are numerous when you count them,

But when you are in distress their number dwindles.

Brethren of loyalty are rare today throughout the earth. Verse:

If in life you make one loyal friend

That would be well; but where is that one?

Alas! How the great man of perfection is lost! And the free skilled
youth!

My age-long desire is for the impossible:

That my eyes see a man who is free.

If you befriend anybody, let it be your Lord. Do not find fault with
one who casts you aside and defies you, for should you succeed in
winning his love, he would protect you against all men. Verse:

I wish that between you and me the way be always open,

And let destruction befall the way between me and the world.

When you are friendly all will be well;
For all above the earth is earth indeed.

[41b] When you make a friend, see that you treat him with politeness of understanding; and deal forgivingly with him. Verse:

By your manliness crush what the mean provoke
Of your wrath, and forgive when the wicked injure you.
Of all ornaments forbearance for the intelligent is best;
The reward of forgiveness far outweighs any other.

The enlarged vision, drawn by men of prudence from experience, has caused them to be abstemious in their dealings with many men. Verse:

Knowledge of men drove me to refrain from them,
After a long experience of one friend after another;
Not a companion did the days show me
To befriend, who did not wound me in the end.

Spiritual affinity precedes in appearance; hence personal inclination foreshadows the exchange of words and physical association.

When the silence of the wise man continued, some criticised this silence as despicable. Then he offered the advantage of his wisdom as a compensation for his non-communicative mood.

To me they said, "We observe your protracted silence."
I replied, "The endurance of my silence is not caused by my
faulty speech or dumbness;
Shall I cast pearls before those who do not appreciate?
And shall I display gold before the blind?"

A wise man would keep away delights from inappreciative people, while he exhibits them before those who appreciate them for fear of drudgery and falling into errors. . . .

Typical of ignoble spirits is antagonism to people of noble character; this is brought about by their ill-natured ingredients, their spiritual decadence and their [42a] utter futility.

The spirits of the filthy are addicted by nature
To the rejection of the blessings of good men.
To attempt to retract the scorpions from their biting,
Is an expectation of what is not inherent in their nature.

Virtue is the mean between two vices. Extreme indulgence is monstrous and extreme neglect is defective. Verse:

When you have an ambition, follow the moderate course;
Verily the extremes and opposites of things are vicious.

Fall not into despair on account of your many shortcomings; all will be effaced when pardon comes.

Do not desert human society; even though you have long been rebuffed;
For certainly it might happen that you shun some men who love you indeed.

If when you call, you hear the reply "No," be not among those who would be diverted and withdraw. Rather should you then lay your interest upon your Lord, for verily He, glory to Him, shall bring your desire to pass. It is related of the sayings of the theologian (*al-imām*) al-Shāfi'i,¹⁰ Allah be pleased with him, that he said, "He who sets out to seek a definite reality and finishes in actual arrival at the realization of an existence satisfactory to his own thinking, would be an anthropomorphist (*mushabbih*); if he gives assent to the notion of divesting (*al-ṣarf*), he would then divest God of his attributes (*mu'aṭṭil*). But if he finds satisfaction in belief in a Being the reality of whom he confesses that he is incapable of conceiving, then he would be created by Him."¹¹ Verily little boys think that the stars do not shine when the sun is shining; they cannot understand how the light of the stars is overcome by the light of the sun until they are so instructed or taught by experience. Now men in the realm of the supernatural (*ghayr al-mahsūs*) are like unto boys, especially when duties are manifested. The doctors (*al-mashā'ikh*) say: He who knows God

¹⁰ Al-Imām abu-'Abdullah Muḥammad ibn-Idris, born 150/767 and died 204/820, the founder of the Shāfi'i school of law. He may be described as an eclectic who acted as an intermediary between the independent legal investigation and the traditionalism of his time. The main centres of his activities as a teacher were Baghdad and Cairo. His writings are embodied in *Kitāb al-Umm* (printed at Cairo in 7 volumes).

¹¹ *Tashbih*, assimilating, comparing God to man, anthropomorphism and *ta'ṭil*, emptying, divesting God of all attributes, are the names of two opposite views of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islam. Both are regarded as heresies. See al-Ghazzālī *Ihyā'*, vol. i, p. 2; J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazzālī's*, Vienna, 1912, pp. 197-200.

shall [42b] have a long tongue, i. e., he who has contemplated Him, not having trespassed his limits or uttered words proving his ignorance of himself. For the tongue is considered a part of one who knows himself. . . .

Each person without using his mouth speaks of what lies inside of him; like unto a vessel which can only sweat of that which it contains. . . . By knocking on the outside of human pottery are the inward characteristics revealed, even as a man may test a vessel by knocking on it; thus does he distinguish the sound pots from the cracked ones. If you meet one who brags about his deeds, let him go his own way. . . . He whom Time shall scornfully desert will yet live to see the smile of Time, and he will achieve his own desires. Men shall experience, forever, both joys and sorrows, clouds and sunshine, poverty and fame. . . . [43a] Couplets:

Fear not a sorrow which is like a passing cloud.
Soon it will vanish, and the full moon brightly will shine.
Many a misfortune comes and goes;
And it shall pass through one's mind no more.

Take care that you do not make an enemy even of a man of little importance, for most of the great fire develops out of a little spark.
Couplet:

Despise not a tiny thing you fight;
Full many a fly has caused a lion's eye to bleed.

He who scoffs at men will fall into mischief. Couplet:

Most men are dangerous; so guard against those who appear
to be good;
While you live avoid those folk who are supposed to be
"the good."

Not by shrewdness nor endeavour do you secure your living; rather is it by the portion (*qismah*—kismet)¹² assigned to you by the Creator (*al-khallāq*). Verse:

¹² *Qismah* is a synonym of *istiqsām*, distribution; it later came to mean lot, portion and developed as a third meaning "the lot which is destined for every man." The Turkish form *kismet* is not so much an expression of theological doctrines concerning predestination (*al-qadar*) as of a practical fatalism which accepts with resignation the blows and vicissitudes of fate. See Enno Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen, 1924; Else Marquardsen, *Das Wesen des Osmanen*, Munich, 1916, p. 100.

Were livelihoods distributed according to intelligence,
The brute beasts would long have perished.

When you encounter one to whom the sciences are accessible and the treasures of understanding open, should you be drawn into an argument with him, be careful to cast aside the copied pages, and let your controversy with him centre only on the realm of the spiritual, for spiritual faculties are superior to acquired faculties. Verse:

When fools deny me prestige by saying:
'Verily the pages of jurisprudence witness to the importance
of transmitted knowledge,'
I reply saying, 'Verily the sciences are spiritual talents
Whose properties outweigh all the values of transmission and
reason.'

When the followers of transmitted knowledge contemplated what lies beyond the minds, they said that this is the [43b] consequence of travelling, whereupon the gnostic sang to them the wisdom of poetry. Couplets:

I have abandoned those records which serve the aim of the
slanderer,
Proving him a villain and bearing false witness for him.
The slanderer interprets them in a way which I do not like;
And makes them conform to his view.

The prestige of the Law consists in the enforcement of regulations; the prestige of reality lies in the superiority of the people of feeling over rulers; know this, you who have tasted the sweet food and smelt the perfume. Verse:

By your worth, hear the spirit of the matter from an expert
Who draws his knowledge from the experience of the heart,
not from books.
Truth reported by the man of knowledge on the authority of
the eye of faith (*'ayn al-yaqīn*),¹³

¹³ Cf. Fāriḍ T, p. 36, v. 514. Apparently *al-yaqīn* means real faith in the Unseen. There are three stages of *al-yaqīn* variously defined by Sufis: '*ilm al-yaqīn*', '*'ayn al-yaqīn*' and '*ḥaqq al-yaqīn*'; all three are mentioned in ibn-al-Fāriḍ's verse referred to above. According to Kāshānī's opinion, quoted by Nicholson, the definitions of the three stages are, respectively: First, knowledge by the

As it appeared on the highest horizon untainted with falsehood.
This is a revelation from the heavens brought down to a lower
horizon

And coming from the creative sofa of books.

If you ask what is the reality of taste (*al-dhawq*)¹⁴ I will say it is
'above the superior' (*farwq al-farwq*); my tongue has drawn it from
the source which my eyes contemplated. Verse:

'Tis shown forth by good taste with the spirits.

Making the tongue too rich to care for the wisdom of the heart.

The wine of taste makes one acquire the quality of elegance; it
eradicates coarseness; meaning is the grammar of its cups; its tavern
is the presence of approaching (*al-tadāni*); the wine-jar is the gnostic;
the boon-companions are the sciences of gnosis; the strainer is the
pure in heart, and its cushion, the attendant; its debauchery is reason,
and its companionship is nobility.¹⁵

[44a] This wine was found clear to the taste of investigators; its
cups were passed around to the people of the Path. The wine-seller,
the shrewd, said as the wine glistened in the cup: In our tavern there
is wine which is clear in the cup. It says that if you see my quality
when the drinker turns it away from my lip, its medicinal value would
be the disease itself. My lip sought the wine of taste; it sweetened the
spirit when the Sufis drank it in the presence of the Holy. Thus does
it accompany me in the width and length of the earth.

A sweet drink did we quaff in the company of a sweet person,
Thus is the drink of the doubly sweet made sweet;
We drank and poured the remainder on the ground,
Surely the earth receives a share from the goods of the
generous.

If adjunction to Allah (*al-iḍāfah li-Allah*), glory to Him, were un-

Sufi that knowledge lies within him, second, the seeing of this knowledge in-
tuitively with the eye of mystical contemplation, and third, the disappearance of
the illusion of subject and object and the reaching of absolute unity (*ittiḥād*).
See Ni S, p. 247, footnote 514.

¹⁴ Cf. Nicholson's article on al-Suhrawardi in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and
Ethics*, xii, p. 21, where *dhawq* is rendered as "mystical perception."

¹⁵ Here follows an array of sentences in which this analogy is continued,
followed by a number of verses.

der the general heading of the descriptive (*şifah*) and the described (*marşūf*) that would make it obligatory to give to essence (*al-dhāt*) an abstract meaning; thus that would fall under the heading of verbs made adjunct to descriptives (*al-şifāt*). But here lies an impossibility in which a pretext is sought in mere words; for it matters not if the term which describes rule is [44b] made adjunct to the ruler, or if that descriptive of creation is made adjunct to the Creator. Furthermore, under the heading of making the attribute of creation an adjunct to the One, the Truth, is the amorous language (*taghazzul*) used by some in relation to Absolute Beauty, not the beauty of form which is restricted to some one person among men. Verse:

Orchards in verdure testify,
 The rose comes to enhance the redness of your cheek;
 From your cheek does fascination spread out
 Made clear with the aroma of your curls.
 Ah, your lovely stature when you sally forth,
 Causing the tender branches of the ben-tree to bend in trying
 to see you.
 O Giver of other existence to the worlds
 Whose beauty witnesses to you as the Maker!
 You busy me by what you show me, that I forget myself;
 And knowledge which you grant me gives me progress.
 My heart you make a flourishing residence for you,
 Before whom my heart does kneel each time it beats.

The Divine Attribute is pure through perfection and holiness. It is so made that no quality of deficiency and defilement can be made an adjunct to it. Perfect is the reality of one who has faith in Divinity; he asserts what is obligatorily His own and denies from Him the impossible, as a part of adoration (*al-ijlāl*) to safeguard the proportion of the height of sovereignty and to preserve the presence of purity and sanctity. The reason for the divergence in beliefs lies in the different phases of [45a] manifestations that are the fruit of both enlightenment and waywardness; that the Will of the All-Doer might be fulfilled through his manifold deeds and manifold distinguished attributes. Verse:

Your attributes are various in the world,
 Hence the differences of sect and creed.

By Allah, their hearts seek none other than you;
All of them in reality are witnesses to you.

Yet among all the people who witness to Him through their creeds, only the one who seeks forgiveness from the only One shall be right in his opinion. Thus are the objectives of all the seekers united; even though they vary in their utterances and differ in their signs.

They appear before thy face, O gracious One,
Invoking thee in different words which have but one meaning.
Grant us a single blessing which will serve our multitude
As a provision on the morrow of the day of reckoning.

If the station of union in the presence of communion shall vary in accordance with the feelings, that is because the pleading is different and the manners of etiquette vary; expressions assume different colours in accordance with the considerations. Seemingly every one has his own presence, contemplation and look, following the extent of acceptance at the stations of arrival at union. Couplets:

The one to whom possibilities of union are hinted is not
Like one who is led to the place of union;
Nor is the one who reaches union, in my opinion,
Like one entrusted with secrets by them;
Nor is the entrusted like him
Who becomes one of them, so make no excuse.

[45b] They obliterated him from their midst, and he was obliterated;
Then they reinstated him and again he became steady;
Such is the thing which the heart adores
Without it, exposed to man, the heart dies away.

If you desire manifestation take care to be alone, and you will win the clarified manifestation of exaltation. Verse:

The majesty of the purity of manifestation's mirror
Is a beauty that is above all likeness and equality.
More enraptured did the heart make my joy;
It sweetened me, so that I became wholly sweeter.

Travelling along the paths of piety engenders progress to the stations of subsistence. Do you not see that a pawn (*baydaq*), in the game of chess, receives added importance by the cautious movements

it undergoes in the spheres that are above its own rank?¹⁶ The traveller (*al-sālik*) advances, while the enraptured¹⁷ is suspended. Similarly, the obedient one comes while the disobedient (*al-'āṣi*) departs; the traveller advances step by step until he reaches the presence, while the enraptured attracts immediate attention. The traveller follows the righteous path while the enraptured is barren. But among the enraptured ones are those who reach the station of chastisement. Such is the one who receives the curbing necessary for the traveller along the road to progress. The enraptured one who is sober excels the one effaced in the process of effacement. The traveller, the enrapture one, obtains effacement and permanence (*ṭhabāt*), while he, the enraptured one, has been divested from permanence by effacement. The enraptured comprehends both reality (*al-ḥaqīqah*) and the Law (*al-sharī'ah*)—a comprehensive person who clings to the fundamentals of jurisprudence. The enraptured is one who departs from spirits [46a] and withdraws from the realm of sense. The traveller is one who contemplates the realities of revelations and elegancies; from all he gathers the fruits of gnostic knowledge; return to the realm of sense is preferable in both the last and first life. A man is one who comprehends both drunkenness and sobriety. Couplet:

The opposite ends shall not be reconciled except by one who
stands firmly

In righteousness with truth and knowledge and stability.

The rapture (*jadhb*) of servants is achieved in accordance with acceptance and readiness. Many an enraptured one does not realize in what condition he is, while another is a contemplator in the presence. Rapture is the goal and travelling is saintship. He who acquires either of them shall have half his portion, while he who acquires both shall achieve perfection with the beloved close by.

There are three kinds of "selves" (*nufūs*): A headstrong self, a reproachful self and a tranquilized self. The headstrong self might accompany the man who has attained the station of Islam, the reproachful self might accompany the man who has attained the station of faith and the tranquilized self might accompany the man who has

¹⁶ Paraphrase of a verse.

¹⁷ *Majdhūb*, in the Sufi sense, is a man who is pulled, drawn, or attracted to God. In common parlance, however, the word indicates mental unbalance, hence an idiot.

attained the station of charity.¹⁸ But when the Sufis use the word "self," they commonly imply by it the animal spirit in contradistinction to the sublime and radiant (*al-nūrāni*) spirit. The states of forgetfulness (*ghaflah*), lust, dissension and desire are the temporary abode of the variation in the nature of the senses which are of a transitory character. The Sufis have acknowledged the fact that the pleasure of the Holy One (*al-quddūs*) consists in opposing self; thus they work in opposition to the stupid self by treating it with courtesy and thus discovering its secret plots. Couplets:

Whenever Self asks of you a thing
Which you may well avoid,
Be sure to object to that desire, for verily
That desire is an enemy, and objection to it is a friend.

The spirit (*al-rūh*) is a delicate organism composed of radiant substances (*jawāhir nūrāniyah*); it never had a hidden form (*ṣūrah baṭīnah*) in the heavenly realm before it came into the body. Once it occupies the body (*al-jism*), it acquires a form from its constituents. Similarly are happiness and misery; such are the conditions of the one created by the Creator. Nothing compared to Him is old, for His creations extend infinitely backwards. This belongs to the realm of things connected with sovereignty. Said Allah, the Exalted, "They will ask you of the spirit. Say, 'The Spirit comes at the bidding of my Lord.'"¹⁹ Learning about it, since it is one of the secrets of Allah, which are under suspicion, remains a mystery in the main. It is a stranger in the lower regions; but dwells among the people of heavenly vision (*ahl al-'ulwīyāt*).

Verily the spirit develops from the light of God's commandment,
As for this physical form it develops from the earth;
The spirit is a stranger and the body at home;
Show your regard and fidelity to a stranger who has wandered
from his native land.

The spirit while in this world is in departure from servanthship before the sublime sovereignty; once its aim has been achieved, it returns to the presence of the Cause of all being (*wājib al-wujūd*). Especially

¹⁸ Consult Margaret Smith, "Al-Risālat Al-Laduniyya," in JRAS, April, 1938, pp. 195, 199.

¹⁹ Koran 17: 87.

when the light of illumination (*nūr al-ishrāq*) has been flooded on it, does it fly to the presence on the wings of longings. Verse:

The physical beings forsook the tribal abodes,
And yearned with passion for the ancient dwelling.

[47a] Much as though a lightning flashed,
Then passed away, leaving no earthly trace.

Journeying (*al-riḥlah*) is of two kinds: the journeying of spirits and that of bodies (*al-ashbāḥ*), covering one distance after another. Verse:

O you weary one with bodily journeying,
Circumambulating the world in your perplexity of mind;
Come, seek Him whose consciousness your essence contains,
O man,
For you are yourself the object of all journeying.

If you are, O man, a possessor of all meanings of the world, be not then veiled from yourself by them, lest thereby you become despised. Rather should you understand the realities of gnostic knowledge through which you will mount up to the presence of seeing with your own eyes:

If you were a heavenly chair, or a throne, or a garden
Or fire or heavenly bodies running their course,
And if of the Whole you were a copy
And knew this to be a reality,
Why then should you abide in your debasement,
With those who are prisoners? Is not your turn come that you
should go home?

The purpose of home-coming is to journey toward the station of observing the Real Substance (*al-'ayn*)²⁰ with one's own eye, without "how" (*kayfa*) or "where" (*ayna*).

Rejection of all other than the Real Substance is a duty.
Therefore, do not adulterate truth with falsehood.
The "where" and the "how" are open mysteries;
Dispense, therefore, with them both.

The Divine Presence is pure and holy; no defiled attribute can enter

it. Moreover, no nightly intruder (*tāriq*) can enter therein; nor can a thief or an immoral intruder climb the walls. The sublime Holiness of Divinity is not seen by every man; it is described by the comments of the people of perfection [47b] among men. This makes the revelation of beauty necessary.²¹

To this category belongs the saying of one who beckons them.

When a coward finds himself alone on a land,
He shall declare war and come out for the conflict.

Time has become so imperfect that its people differ from it; and all of the good people hate their Time.

Time has gone mad as though in its belly
He lodges hatred for honourable and honest men;
Enamoured is it with the mean and fallen
Who might yet forward its own deadly ends.

Dress yourself in the way that men do, walk in the highest paths, for the theologian (*al-imām*) Mālik²² said:

Make your clothes look as well as you can,
Verily by them do men receive acclaim.
Abandon the pretense of humility in clothes,
For surely Allah knows what you conceal and harbour within.
Plain clothes do not increase your prestige
Before God, if you be a sinful servant;
Nor would your new clothes harm you in the least,
If you fear God and avoid what He forbade.

The wearing of patched clothes, while one accepts it from Allah, is a pious act. But to deny anyone the wearing of fine clothes is unfair.

²¹ This is a condensed paraphrase of a lengthy passage in verse and prose.

²² Abu-'Abdullāh Mālik ibn-Anas ibn-Mālik ibn-abi-'Amir ibn-'Amr ibn-al-Ḥārith ibn-Ghaymān ibn-Khuthayl ibn-'Amr ibn-al-Ḥārith al-Aṣbaḥi of the Quraysh tribe. Born ca. 90/708-9 and died 179/795 at al-Madinah, he was the founder of the school of Moslem jurisprudence named *al-madhhab al-Māliki*, after him. Mālik's great work is the *Kitāb al-Muwatta'* which is considered the earliest surviving Moslem law-book (lithographed Delhi, A. H. 1302); the other great source for Mālik's teaching is his *al-Mudawwanah al-Kubra*, Cairo, 1323, 16 vols. For bibliography and notes see J. Schacht, art. "Mālik B. Anas," in E I.

Beware of wearing ostentatious garments;
 But wear of clothes the becoming;
 Man's humility within him
 Is verily nobler and more seemly.

Verily deeds are judged according to intentions. The rank of a person [48a] depends upon his purposes and objectives; this is true in the case of each seeker and aspirer.

Verily God does not consider your looks (*şuwar*) nor your deeds; he only considers your hearts; your looks are your intentions. The elect ones among the Sufis (*al-khawāṣṣ*) wear their new garments when they embark upon the act of detachment (*al-tajrīd*), that is, when they detach themselves from vicious habits and resolve to tread the righteous Path.

Permission (*al-idhn*), according to the outward meaning of the Law, is the expressed statement which implies the choice between doing and not doing the right without exigency (*iqtiḍā'*) in either case. Ibn-'Aṭīyah said that Permission, when made adjunct to God (*al-muḍāf ila Allah* i. e., when it is 'in construct with' the name God), by Allah's permission, indicates the control of that which has been permitted; but when a saying becomes adjunct to Permission that would imply commandment; in the inner meaning of the reality it is a light which forms in the heart and has a cooling effect; with this are the chosen few endowed, and it is not a cause for the loss of infallibility. Sometimes Permission is used to mean the Permission of the Will in general in regard to all the created things, that is, placing things back in the Will of God as far as motion and motionless conditions go; this indicates the meaning that not a particle can move without His Permission, nor can it rest without His Permission. But such a Permission does not become an established regulation if it is promulgated in other than the canon of the Law and the manners of Reality. Understand this that you may escape from perils. Know, furthermore, that the reply is in accordance with the question that is asked. The discourse also varies with the position of the speaker. For "there is none of us but has an assigned place,"²² O ye men of understanding and [48b] intelligence. He who accepts among men His uttered word (*lafẓ*) shall receive permission to speak among men. He who is blessed by the sweetness of expression and the elegance of gesture shall make the ears of men rejoice at hearing his

words; his love shall be impressed on the natures of men. When meanings shall gush from the sea of the heart and become cast on the shore of the tongue, they shall be taken over by the scale of prose and poetry in order to crown the heads with them. By them the breasts are also decorated. Each time these acceptable words shall pass by, they will fascinate; each time they are reiterated, they are more polished and limpid. This is on account of that characteristic eloquence of the tongue and the intricacy of that brain among brains. Thus his eloquence, the beauty of his language and the bliss of his discourse shall increase; like the bees which seek their sustenance among the flowers of the hills which in turn will develop into more abundant sweetness.²⁴ If the heart should be found enlightened, expression becomes easy; for thereupon one is permitted to speak according to the regulations of men of feeling. He who discovers the meanings but fails to discover the expression, shall be one who is thus ordered to observe secrecy, according to the people of symbolical utterances (*ahl al-ishārah*). Sometimes words of fine meaning acquire a repulsive form so that the ears of the Sufis will not like them, but flee from them now and forever. It has been said that the hearing of words is like looking at faces; if one's taste deviates from moderation, it fails to taste the sweetness of the words of men. Verse:

The eye might fail to perceive the light of the sun because of
ophthalmia,

Whereas the mouth fails to enjoy the taste of water because of
disease.

[49a] Similarly does deficiency in understanding often lead to the rejection of a sound and righteous saying.

Many a man scorns a sound saying,
The fault being in his deficient understanding.

If you discover that mistakes have crept into the lines of black ink, do not give place to your words of slander or try to exaggerate the error. On the contrary try to give a good interpretation to the venerable man and repeat the following words which were spoken by a kindly man of virtue. Verse:

Brother of learning, do not hasten to point out the error of
an author,

²⁴ This sentence is a paraphrase of two couplets.

Whereas you have not made certain the mistake you ascribe to him.

Often a reporter corrupts what he knows,
And often men alter and twist the traditions;
And copyists have many a time changed the meaning,
Introducing a fact not envisaged by the author.

Look not at the straw in anyone's eye; see, however, the beam in your own eye;²⁵ thus you will be among those who travel in the Path and follow in the good way of our fathers. The successful, the innocent, does not offend Allah. He will treat the great with politeness and the small with mercy. Be a brother to all the servants of Allah and look upon them with the eye of kindness and compassion; pay your respect to the great among them and show mercy to those of them who are humble.²⁶ Mercy is of two kinds: one which is related to the quality of grace and another which is seasoned by the influence of wisdom. Justice is the example of the first, like one who enters Paradise without judgment (*ḥisāb*). An example of the second is one who enters Paradise after punishment (*'adhāb*). Absolute mercy is sovereign grace for all humanity, while special mercy is for the chosen who meet with success at the carpet of investigation. The merciful one among men is he who is qualified with the attribute [49b] of the Compassionate (*al-raḥmān*), who is saved from Fire on the Last Day. See to it that you do not deny that which you cannot understand of the secrets. He who denies that which he cannot discover, will be forbidden the blessing of what he has discovered. Whomsoever you find to be a great denier (*kathīr al-inkār*) is surely a man who lacks the light; in rare cases would he escape Fire. At least seek self-resignation which is the safe way, although belief (*ītiqād*) is more profitable.

The imitator (*al-mutashabbih*) is certainly beloved by the one he loves; but the neglect of Allah shall fall on the imitator who seeks his own interests. He who seeks his own worldly advancement shall be forbidden entry to Paradise; his eye shall find²⁷ the law of justice and the mercy of segregation (*al-faṣl*). Whosoever sets the religious trap of artfulness against the world shall thereby capture hope for being among the fearers of Allah.

²⁵ Cf. Matthew 7:3.

²⁶ This sentence is a paraphrase of two couplets.

The worshipper's virtues are the vices of the elect (*al-muqarrab*). The worshipper lives in illusion and bondage, while the elect lives in joy and confirmation. The heart of the worshipper is swollen with intricate expressions, while the heart of the elect is swollen with the realities of contemplation. Not through worship is the happiness of the next world to be had, but by means of the eternal lot (*qismah* = *kismet*) and the providential care (*al-'ināyah al-rabbānīyah*). Many a worshipper observing his nocturnal vigilance weeps with the outpouring of tears; not seeking any fortune, but only pleading that his master should no more torment him with the protraction of his vigils. Many a worshipper knows not what he wants; yet he attains some next world gain.²⁸

The beloved (*al-maḥbūb*) shall be relieved from the pains of care by Providential Care; he shall don the mantle of authority, through [50a] sainthood. Allah, the Sublime, the Majestic, would say: "Gabriel, bring wakefulness to such a man, I long for him; and let my servant, such a man, sleep, for upon him I have pity." The children of the world are stripped from the power of finding the causes that underlie their deeds. . . . Be not one of those who worship that in turn they might be worshipped; nor one of those who master life for the sake of fame. Think that you worship God for the sake of God, not for any interest or reward. The children of the world achieve excellence among men through position and possession, while the children of the next life achieve excellence through feelings and spiritual means.

Discernment (*al-firāsah*)²⁹ belongs either to wisdom or to the Law. The former is known by signs while the latter is revealed by revelations (*mukāshafāt*). The discernment of the wise is his acquisition of knowledge, while the discernment of the believer is his radiance (*nūrānīyah*). Give homage to the discernment of the believer for verily he sees through the light of Allah. . . .

Thoughts (*khawāṭir*, sing. *khāṭir*) are the divine proceedings of truth (*ṭawārīq ḥaqq*) or the musings of falsehood (*ṭawāriq bāṭil*). Truth is received (it proceeds) through the setting apart (*tanẓih*) and

²⁸ This sentence is a paraphrase of three couplets.

²⁹ This term has also been used to mean clairvoyance. See the studies of Nicholson on abu-Sa'īd ibn-abi-al-Khayr, in *Ni S*, pp. 34, 68, 69. *Firāsah* might also be insight or sagacity. See al-Sarrāj, pp. 36, 63 (English part), 123, 225 (Arabic text). Cf. R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 51.

the unification of the Lord. Sometimes a proceeding (*wārid*) urges one towards a definite form of obedience, with strength and determination; this is a heart proceeding. Sometimes a proceeding moves one towards different kinds of obedience; this is general. Perhaps also, the proceeding of good fortune might emerge from the heart or from one's angel; most often does it come from one's angel; in only rare cases does it originate in the heart; for the purity of hearts is very rare. The inward proceeding is one which passes through the heart with fascination and allurements engendered by disobedience; this is from the Devil. Some musings (sing. *ṭāriq*) are oriented in a given direction and with a definite objective in view; such a one is of [50b] self. It may be of self or the Devil. By these two is disobedience born; understand, therefore. Should the proceeding of good fortune come immediately after obedience, that would be good fortune; but if the ordinary musings should break on one immediately following disobedience, that would be evil. In the event one does not see the difference between a proceeding from above (*wārid*) and a worldly musing (*ṭāriq*), the matter should be presented to what the Law prescribes in keeping with the precept of God; if it agree with the judgment of Allah, it would be light, otherwise darkness. The proceeding proceeds from the presence of His Subduing Name (*ismuhu al-qahhār*); that is why it eradicates the qualities and traces. Had He so desired, there would attend at the presence of beholding angels, jinns and the Truth. The "proceeding" is that which brings about benefits and gives instruction about the wonders of profitable matters. Mastery (*al-siyādah*) comes to men through the quality of perfection. What a difference between the man who assumes mastery in order to pursue his own ends and another who seeks mastery by helping the servants to become masters! The former shall lose good fortune and become a victim to obstinacy. When God (*al-ḥaqq*) sees fit to bestow mastery on a servant, he causes love for him to reside in the breasts of men. Should this servant, then, seek to imitate Him, He would grant him the light of gnostic knowledge; thereafter he would be selected for the station of the chosen (*maqām al-iṣṭifā'*); on him will be drawn the veil of hiding, for there is no life to one who does not hide himself; there is no comfort for one who is not satisfied. Enter the loneliness of obscurity and do not put on the garment of officiousness (*al-fudūl*) that you may find joy in what you eat and that your time may bring you safety. Whatever is [51a]

located in the bosom (*baṭn*) of the earth shall be permanently located; but all that flourishes above the surface of the earth shall never acquire permanence. The best seeds of success are those which are sown by the peasant. He who has been reared in the earth and soil shall excel all his companions. The one thus reared (*al-murabba*) shall be tempered with sweetness; he wears the quality of brightness (*ṭalāwah*). There is nothing in the rank of the great ones as commendable as toleration (*al-mahl*) in matters of orthodoxy. The lightning (*bāriq*, pl. *bawāriq*) of the beginning is the same as the flashes (*lāmi'*, pl. *lawāmi'*) of the end. He who has not experienced humiliation at the beginning will not enjoy any endearment at the end.

People of potentiality among men relieve the novice of his struggle and bring him safely to the highest ranks. The man is one who, upon looking at you with the look of friendliness (*al-wadād*), makes you so rich that by him you are able to dispense with all other men. . . .
O Book of Secrets (*kitāb al-asrār*), O Mirror of Lights:

You are the Book, the Secrets of whose letters
Uphold the universe that seeks entry to the hearts.

Men are seekers after the lusts of "self";⁸⁰ this is what has caused heads to be bowed down.

Aspirations (*himam*, sing. *himmah*⁸¹) depend on one's standing; the aspiration involved in the prayer of the annihilated one has hurled him down to the bottomless regions, while the aspirations of the prayer of the subsistent one has raised him to the sublime heights. The glamour of the outward side of things is a reflection of the beauty of Truth exhibited by the phenomena [of the universe].

Revelation (*kashf*) is a reality in the opinion of the investigators of the Path. It does not mean that you see light and darkness in the ranks of servanthip, but that the eye of darkness shall see the light and contemplate the removal of the cover through light. The man [51b] is not one who asks the novice for work; the man is one who

⁸⁰ Literally "selves" (*al-nufūs*).

⁸¹ *Al-himmah* denotes the utmost orientation of the heart towards God. See al-Jurjāni, *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt*, Cairo, A. H. 1321, p. 177. According to ibn-'Arabi (Fuṣūṣ, fol. 90) the gnostic creates by meditation ideas which have an objective existence in sensation, phantasy or higher planes of perception. Cf. Mass T, pp. 183, 83, 11, 9; ibn al-Fāriḍ's use of this term, however, has the sense of "volition." Fāriḍ T, p. 42, v. 596.

bestows on him more abundantly. If he only asks a novice to do more work, he shall be lacking in the way of dealing with men.

Jealousy (*ḥasad*) is the quality of the outcasts; they belong to the banished group. Wish for the happiness of others, but do not be jealous, for the jealous never achieves mastery. The jealous person is a rebel; he who is identified with the quality of jealousy shall find his aid cut off; he who envies others is forbidden the Truth. Beware of jealousy, for this is the disobedience which the Devil inculcates. Jealous, banished one, repent to God and renounce the corruption of your nature before you are eclipsed and obliterated.

The purity of hearts is the key of the unseen. Purify your heart, for it is the house of your Lord. The heart is the mirror of manifestation; therefore seek the polishing value of consecration (*takhalli*).³² The heart is the throne of your Lord, the Divine consciousness, the observed pocket. Read the tablet of your heart, your "preserved tablet,"³³ you the beloved, the observed one, and it shall reveal your secrets to you. What He discloses to the heart shall never become deficient while that which "self" acquires shall not be free from drudgery and monotony. Knowledge of your sanctified self (*naḥsuk al-quḍsiyah*) is the door (*bāb*) to the presence of sovereignty. He who contemplates the inside of vessels will see the secrets of meanings, without suffering from the pursuit of gain, and will be the chosen one in the presence of the approach.

Meanings (*ma'āni*, sing. *ma'na*) are gifts, and stations are ranks; feelings pass away; all, that is, except the objective, shall vanish. The condition of being chosen in the presence of approach is everlasting; it shall not be taken away; it is a privilege which cannot be stolen. He who thinks of competition with the people of love [52a] and enrichment will fall into the trap of polytheism and care. If you aim at reaching union without pains, then cling to the people of merit. The lack of manners in one's contacts with the people of ranks leads to failure.

The saints of Allah are the mine of the guarded secret. These are in touch with His concealed mystery. The saints of Allah are the brides of the presence; on them is drawn the veil of zeal; they are treasures hidden from the bulk of humanity. The saints of Allah

³² Lit., the ridding of the heart of everything other than; evacuation, emptying, making open.

³³ Cf. Koran 85: 22.

have parted with the people of this world in spirit, although they dwell among them in their physical bodies. The saints have hearts whose light is brighter than the sun of which we are conscious. What brilliant lights! What spiritual perfections! Thus they are the stars of earth in the view of heaven's people; their light is for us and them; he who watches the stars is from heaven; the stars of earth are more dazzling in their light; those appear for a time, then pass away while these are not subject to hiding. The guidance of the former is in the darkness of the nights, while the guidance of these consists in the removal of the covering.⁸⁴

Manifestation (*zuhūr*) comes to men by acceptance and perfection. It is said that he who is overcome by the light shall conquer in manifestation.⁸⁵ Manifestation has a special mantle. Glory to the manifest One for all the phenomena in which he appears. The manifestation of the people of imperfect traits is drawn from the conquest of illusive phantasy. The manifestation of men is by confirmation, support, righteousness and acuteness. The manifestation of the men of goodness (*al-akhyār*) is without their choice. Take care not to seek manifestation for [52b] therein lies the breaking of backbones.

Remembrance (*dhikr*) is worship by the tongue with the consent of the heart. When remembrance continues, it becomes obligatory to be present at the presence of the Remembered One. Remembrance is a kind of proximity on the part of the ignorant, not the intelligent; it marks the coming nearer to God of the knowing, the intelligent. If the worshipper is absorbed in worship, remembrance will add nothing to him. Disclosure (*jahr*) of remembrance occurs in the case of contemplation through absence and forgetfulness on the part of ordinary Sufis; but the secretion of it is the practice of the chosen and the men who contemplate reality. The remembrance of the annihilated through contemplation is the end and purpose. There is a vast difference between the one who remembers in order to receive enlightenment and another who had already received enlightenment before remembrance. Whosoever imagines that he really remembers the Remembered One, is surely forgetful of the presence. Man, your remembrance is both imperative and positive by all the forgetfulness

⁸⁴ The end of this paragraph is a paraphrase of three couplets.

⁸⁵ On the topic of *zuhūr*, outwardness, consult Jilāni I, pt. i, pp. 30 *sqq.* It is clearly shown in the present reference that *al'-ama* is the absolute inwardness (*buṭūn*) and occultation (*istitār*) while the concept of outwardness is the direct opposite.

of Him which you incur. Verily, I am the offending one at every memory, I am the one who is mentioned at every junction. God, what a marvellous affair! How can the present remember the one who is next to him? The charitable thought is particular to the people of gnostic knowledge. Thoughts are the stars of minds' heaven; through them comes guidance on the path of reason. If you despise thoughts, you will be blinded from seeing. Thought flies, while the man of remembrance walks. The man of thought, the gnostic, gathers the fruits of gnostic knowledge. Thought is a lamp, a luminous light. Mind is the miracle of God, His trust to you. Take care not to scorn His miracle or forfeit His trust. The reality of [53a] the mind is an instinct which makes possible the acceptance of acquired and given gnostic knowledge; it increases by practice and decreases without it. Others said that it is a delicate spiritual substance that encompasses all things in a spiritual manner. With the philosophers it denotes the rejected word (*al-kalimah al-mardūdah*) and the stirred up I-ness (*al-anīyah al-munfa'ilah*)³⁶—the father of the spirit or he of the two faces when it proves beneficial and benefiting. Another view is that your mind is the value of your importance in matters of the world and of religion: that it is the value of your importance in the next world, for there is no religion without mind, as there is no mind without religion. A mind which interests you in the world and alienates you from future life is surely against you, not for you. The intelligent person is one who minds what concerns God and His commandments, while fearing His punishment. The developed mind is one that curbs you from pitfalls; it discredits to you the doors of evil-doing; through it are opened the doors of joy. The greater mind receives the secrets of Allah; but if devoted to the smaller mind, it will surely throw you into the sea of doubts, and cast you into the net of troubles.³⁷

Judgment (*wahm*)³⁸ is the quality of the spirit, the veil of the mind and a cloud over the sun of the heart. Judgment establishes your I-ness with the Truth and [53b] multiplies for you the quality

³⁶ On the philosophical use of the form *infa'ala*—stirred up or impressed, see Tahāfut, pp. 274, l. 9; 303, l. 5.

³⁷ Two couplets here omitted.

³⁸ *Wahm* sometimes must be rendered 'mind.' See Ni S, p. 212, footnote 138. But strictly speaking it is the faculty of judgment which by its activity prevents the thought of God (*khāṭir al-ḥaqq*), residing in the ground of the soul (*sirr*), from penetrating the heart. Hence ibn-al-Fāriḍ calls it a watcher (*murāqib*). Fāriḍ T n ii. vv. 137. 138: also see Jurjāni, *Ta'rifāt*, p. 175.

of numerous creatures. Judgment causes you to fall into misery and places the fear of men in you. Judgment introduces phantasy and impedes the quality of perfection.

The removal of judgment takes place through enlightenment and resumption of belief in predestination (*taqdīr*) ; judgment is removed by unification for the one who so wishes and desires. When the heart is enlightened by understanding, the veil and judgment shall vanish from it ; the fall of judgment follows in the track of association with the men of leadership. When Providence comes, it causes judgment to vanish immediately. All things in the universe are forms of liberality (*jūd*) ³⁹ except disobedience and denial (*juhūd*). But for liberality, the universe would crumble down ; and without divine assistance, men would perish.

Immediate revelation (*ittilāʿ*) ⁴⁰ comes to the people of divine assistance in direct proportion to one's readiness for it ; he whose station is august shall receive revelation ; to some an impression of the original model is revealed because of their continued effort at refining their gifts ; the like of these, if saved from phantasy, shall pursue their investigation aided by their resources (*al-hāl*) ⁴¹ and their wealth ; others shall have the curtain lifted for them whereby they may hear the Discourse (*khiṭāb*) ; and others still shall receive the dictation of the Pen ⁴² of the present in as much as every day his state changes. Some may contemplate the Guarded Tablet—this is the Guarded servant. Among the Sufis are those who see the immediate revelation of the beginning, but not of the end. Of them are men to whom the Truth reveals the stored consciousness (*al-sirr al-mu-*

³⁹ See Jurjāni, *Taʾrīfāt*, p. 55. In his chapter on "Liberality and Generosity" al-Hujwiri tells us : "Men have made a distinction between liberality (*jūd*) and generosity (*sakhāʾ*) and have said that the generous man discriminates in his liberality and that his actions are connected with a selfish motive (*gharaḍ*) and a cause (*sabab*). This is a rudimentary stage in liberality, for the liberal man does not discriminate, and his actions are devoid of self-interest and without any secondary cause." al-Hujwiri, p. 317.

⁴⁰ Or perception, also rendered "divine communication" according to Mass H, t. i, p. 56, t. ii, p. 905. See Tahāfut, p. 258, l. 12.

⁴¹ *Ṣāḥib ḥāl* is often used in the sense of "mystic."

⁴² Consult Jilāni I, pt. 2, p. 47, where a resplendent picture is given of Heaven with the Spirit (*ruh*) surrounded by the Cherubim and those above them such as the angel named *al-Nūn* who is stationed beneath the 'Guarded Tablet' and the Pen (*al-qalam*), and the angel named *al-Mudabbir*, whose station is below the *Kursi*, i.e., the Footstool under the Divine Throne (*al-ʿarsh*).

stawda')—the highest objective of immediate perception that is possible for a seeker after divine communication.

Initiative (*taṣṛīf*)⁴³ endows the perfect one with permission in connection with small, but significant errors and bounties, whereas the one below him in attainment [54a] has to use his permission of initiative according to the exigencies of events and happenings. He who grants the initiative cannot afford to disagree with the right of the doer to choose; he who asserts the contrary shall have gnostic knowledge and lights veiled from him. Initiative takes place through the meditation of the heart which understands the hearts; when a man is thus qualified at a certain station, he shall take the initiative of perfection among men. Such is the consciousness of violence (*sirr al-qahrānīyah*)⁴⁴ at the presence of Divinity. It is the Word of the Presence when God says to His saint: "Be of the same power which enabled me to order a thing to be and it was. Accordingly do I make you now able to say to a thing. 'Be,' and it shall be." Of the same category is the story told of abu-Yazīd,⁴⁵ who one day passed his hand along his leg whereby he killed an ant of which he had not been aware. Thereupon, he breathed into it, and behold, it arose to life again by the power of God, glory to Him, the Exalted. Moreover, Jesus, the son of Mary, peace on him, was wont to revive the dead, call death upon the living, and heal the blind and the leper by mere words. We recall how he dispensed the truth among men by his utterances amidst them.

When some of the Sufis say: "I was told," they mean various things, among which are things told by the voice (*hātif*) of reality

⁴³ Or *taṣarruf*. Cf. al-Hujwiri, p. 282.

⁴⁴ According to Jilāni I, pt. ii, p. 29, God created the Form of Muḥammad (*al-ṣūrah al-Muḥammadiyah*) from the light of His Name, the Almighty Maker (*al-Badī' al-Qādir*), and regarded it with His Name, the All-Subduing Giver (*al-Mannān al-Qāhir*); then he displayed Himself to it in His Name, the Gracious Pardoner (*al-Laṭīf al-Ghāfir*). Thereupon, because of this illumination, it split in two halves, and God created Paradise from the half of the right hand, and hell from the half of the left hand; Ni S, p. 135; Mass T, p. 88; on the difference between *qahr* and *luff* see al-Hujwiri, pp. 377-79.

⁴⁵ A Persian pioneer in Sufism, better known as Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī; his real name, however, was abu-Yazīd Ṭayfūr ibn-'Isa ibn-Ādam ibn-Surushān. He has been credited with the introduction of the doctrine of *fanā'* (cf. article on *fanā'* above). Abu-Yazīd's followers are called *al-Ṭayfūriyah* or *al-Bisṭāmīyah*. When he died is not certain; 875, however, is commonly accepted. See al-Qushayrī, pp. 17-18; al-Hujwiri, pp. 106 sqq., 184 sqq.; ibn-Khallikān, vol. i,

and what is heard from the angels without seeing them, or while seeing them in other than their genuine forms, as for example, the Companions who saw Gabriel, peace on him, in the likeness of Dihyah al-Kalbi; ⁴⁶ other sayings are heard by the heart; some are realized by the feelings. It all depends on the event, as happened in the case of al-Shibli ⁴⁷ in his experience with the handmill and the tree when he considered their words as words spoken to him; therefore, understand.

Nature (*kawn*) is the house where lies the tune of the echo; whatever you say in it, it will resound to you; it is a mirror revealing what is in you.

Unveiling (*kashf*) can be concrete (*hissi*) or abstract (*ma'navi*): the concrete relates to the outward phases of the beings, while the abstract relates to the realities of gnostic knowledge.

Revelation (*mukāshafah*) might mean amiability (*mulāṭafah*); sometimes it gives the idea of contemplation (*mushāhadah*) or divine communication concerning the true consciousness of men. In fact it is discernment.

Humility (*tawāḍu'*), while there is greatness, is a station; the humble can only be acknowledged by a man of righteousness; the humility of the people of investigation implies the departure of their quality while they tread the Path; inward humility consists in self-abasement, self-belittlement and confession; outward humility is seeking honour from the Truth on the part of self with a sense of fairness. Such is the humble, undoubtedly.

The humility of the noble is untainted with debasement like that of the despised ones, but through detachment (*nazāhah*) which makes for perfection. Couplet:

He is temperate while strong, he is humble
With pride and energy and tenderness.

⁴⁶ See ibn-Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 52; vol. iv, pt. i, p. 184; vol. viii, p. 46; Ahmad ibn-Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, Cairo, 1313, vol. ii, p. 107; vol. iii, p. 334; vol. vi, pp. 94 sqq.; p. 141 sqq.; p. 146; al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, tr. Wellhausen, p. 360.

⁴⁷ Abu-Bakr Dulaf ibn-Jahdar, a Sunni mystic, born in Maghdad (of a family which came from Transoxiana), in 247/861, d. 334/945. Contemporary of such great figures as al-Ḥallāj, Khayr al-Nassāj and Junayd. The tragic end of the first frightened him away, but he figures in the classical collections on *shaḥ* and in the transmission of the *khirqah* as a link in the chain between Junayd and Naṣrābādhi. For material on his life and eccentricities of speech which culminated in his internment in the lunatic asylum of Baghdad, see al-Hujwiri,

Performance of wonders (sing. *karāmah*) is righteousness and the accompanying suspension of natural laws through worship; it is a figure representing a mark—the mark of the righteousness of behaviour throughout the trodden path.

Music (*samā'*)⁴⁸ is stimulating to the people of the beginning, whereas to the people of the end it is without influence. For you might consider the mountains on which you look stationary, whereas they travel with the speed of the clouds. Verily, music comes not through [55a] the ears, but through the hearts in the realm of the unseen. The man of the beginning seeks the music of the camel-driver's song in order to quiet his longings, while the man of the end is comfortable at the presence of meeting.

Long did your singer excite my longings for you,
Till we met where longing and singer flew.

In principle the Sufi is one who would refresh you with his purity (*ṣafā'*), when you are in dismay; he is one who is purified and free from coarseness (*jafā'*); the Sufi would prefer secrecy; he dons the garment of the chosen; the Sufi travels on the Path and his travel is marked with success. The Sufi is not one who wears wool (*ṣūf*) and makes pretenses; nor one who imitates the precepts of the Law, investigating and seeking the guidance of Reality. The Sufi is a man who knows and does, one who is purified and travels in the path of enlightenment. Sufism became a subject for men's controversial discussions; they disagreed, each one making an unacceptable description. As for me, I would give this epithet only to the man who is at peace with others (*ṣāfa*) and with whom others are at peace (*ṣūfi*); therefore he is called a Sufi. Among the refined manners (*ādāb*) of the Sufi, are contraction (*qabḍ*)⁴⁹ in order to contemplate the majesty and hope (*rajā'*) on the path of righteousness through submission and beseeching.

The Tongue (*al-lisān*)⁵⁰ is the translator of God's way, the disseminator of God's worship in the hearts. The owner of such a tongue receives the sweetest revelations and the brightest light. The man of

⁴⁸ Consult al-Hujwīri, pp. 393-420.

⁴⁹ Or restraint opposite of *baṣṭ*—unrestraint.

⁵⁰ The use of the term *lisān* is exemplified in a letter written to Junayd, al-Sarrāj (Ar. text), pp. 353-354 where a statement by Shibli is also reproduced explaining the difference between *lisān al-'ilm*, *lisān al-ḥaḥiqah* and *lisān*

gnostic knowledge captures the ears with his fine words (*laṭā'if*); when he speaks, breasts are healed; earthly breasts are conquered. This marks the sanctification of the inner nature. The tongue of investigation (*lisān al-tahqīq*) is delicately [55b] formed; he who believes in it is righteous; the owner of the tongue of gnosis is brilliant; yet among men he is a stranger and associates with some other stranger; he is far from home in a strange land. The tongue of usefulness (*lisān al-ifādah*) is that which yields benefits but does not break the regulations. Befriend a man of the spirit, for he is better than a man of the body. He who teaches men is the best father; such a one is a father of the spirit, not of the germ plasm.

Whosoever neglects the duties (*farā'id*, sing. *fard*) is a transgressor, but he who fulfills their provisions is a novice. If one moves through them he is a traveller; whoever is annihilated from them, even while fulfilling them, is a ruler (*mālik*);⁵¹ he who is subsistent through the quality of their abundant flow is a thorough Sufi (*mudaqqiq*). Whoever seeks the warmth of his light becomes an investigator.

To one who never understands your words,
Do not speak at all, I say.

A FINAL WORD OF COUNSEL

Know, O you brilliant man, that your wish to draw nearer means rebellion against your nature. Follow the consensus of opinion, for in this pursuit is benefit to you; but loss lies behind innovation. Let piety be the foundation stone; observe the coming of divine thoughts and utterances; in asking be of infinite politeness, sweet in word and good in action. Pursue devotion and avoid greed. Beware of errors and commit no wrong. Be humble with the great and friendly with the small. Accompany the poor and forsake the princely. Among the Sufis be of exceeding satisfaction. Depart from men and confide in the Provider. Let the knowledge of God be sufficient unto you whereby you do not need to ask from the creatures of God. Occupy yourself with the divine [56a] revelations and forget material assistance. Stand at the thresholds and knock on the door. If it opens, say nothing, and while you approach, do not stumble. Abide by your

⁵¹ According to al-Hujwiri, p. 387, *malik* is one "with whose actions it is impossible to interfere." The form *mālik* might here be meant to stand for the

silence and adoration intermingled with loneliness and the surging thoughts. Make your reply consistent with the discourse. Eat what is lawful and cleanse your qualities. Defy yourself and avoid [sumptuous] clothes. Be not deceived by praise. Make not your worship a matter of habit. Go not into politics seeking office. Give up officiousness and accept obscurity. Look upon the world through the eye of annihilation, and you will rest from care. Adopt the traits of nobility; let alone wickedness and wrong-doing. Let your deportment conform to the good manners of servanthip. Hold yourself in submission before the Sufi dignitaries; offer service to men on the carpet of veneration. Take care not to be self-confident, for in that lies debasement. Should they (the Sufis) draw you near unto them and disclose to you themselves, do not divulge the secrets lest you be expelled from the company of the good; for to be exiled after being brought near is a greater cause for misery and suffering. Therefore, seek God's help against the loss of your gift, for verily that is a catastrophe. If you find that your self has been conquered by desire and that your heart has been filled with harshness, advise them that hope is gone and make ready for immediate death. Chastise yourself and remember the Day of [56b] Resurrection at the end, the standing for judgment, the terror of punishment, the examination of sins through the use of the balance, the fear of the stumbling foot upon the way, repentance and the asking for some station of privilege. The man is one who safeguards his salvation and seeks the station of consecration, not one who would be satisfied with the condition which means abiding in the wickedness of habitations, falling through dissension to bottomless hell and deviation from the Path of Salvation.

Once you see a man addicted to dissension,
 Certain be that his loving ones shall lose him;
 Ignorantly he makes his enemies laugh at him;
 His critics will find room for fault finding.
 Only does the spirit curb one's dissension
 If he among men owns a perfect mind.

Colophon: The completion of this blessed book fell on the blessed Sunday, the sixteenth of Muḥarram, the sacred, which is of the months of the year 1056,⁵² after the Prophetic *hijrah*, upon its owner the best of prayer and peace. And may Allah bless and keep our lord Muḥammad, his family and Companions!

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